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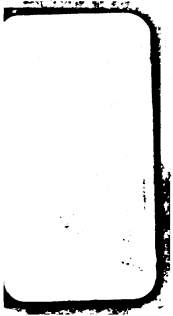

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Memoirs of the Reformers.

VOL. III.

Memoirs of the Reformers,

British and Foreign.

BY THE

REV. J. W. MIDDELTON, A. M.

FORMERLY OF TRINITY COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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MEMOIRS OF THE REFORMERS.

PRINTED BY L. B. SEELEY AND SONS, WESTON GREEN,
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MEMOIRS OF THE REFORMERS.

Tyndale.

The great glory of the Reformation was the translation of the Scriptures into a number of the languages of Europe. As the earlier versions of the word of God had been the principal means of producing that event, so when the work of translation was encouraged and supported by the ruling powers, the effect of that reaction was extensive beyond calculation. Had the system of doctrine been purified, and the mode of discipline corrected, without a diffusion of the lively oracles of truth, there would have been danger of the recurrence of error in the former, and of superstition in the latter, after the general fermentation excited by religious revolution had subsided; but when easy access was afforded to the volume of inspiration, and all ranks of society were invited to search the Scriptures, and judge of the faithfulness of their teachers by an immediate appeal to an unerring standard, the promoters of true religion felt that the reformed churches were fixed on immovable bases. And however Protestants might differ among themselves on the *circumstantials*

of Christianity, they rejoiced together that effectual provision had been made for the transmission of its *essentials*.

'But to dwell no longer,' said Milton, 'in characterizing the depravities of the church, and how they sprung, and how they took increase; when I recall to mind at last, after so many dark ages, wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the church; how the bright and blissful Reformation, by divine power, struck through the blank and settled night of ignorance and antichristian tyranny; methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears, and the sweet odour of the returning Gospel imbathe his soul with the fragrancy of heaven. Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it; the schools opened; divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues; the princes and cities trooping apace to the new-erected banner of salvation; the martyrs, with the unresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon.'[1]

To the grateful and affectionate remembrance of posterity do those lay a peculiar claim, who are reckoned among the earlier biblical translators. In this interesting group of worthies, sketched by the pencil of history, stands near the illustrious Wickliffe the venerable form of William Tyndale.

Of his birth, it is only known that it occurred towards the close of the fifteenth century on the Welch border. His family is supposed to have sprung from Robert

[1] On Reformation in England, B. 1.

Tindall, of Tansover, in the county of Northampton, who descended from Adam de Tindale, Baron of Langley, in South Tindale, in Northumberland.[1] He was entered at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where he was distinguished for diligence in study, and sobriety of behaviour. Through divine grace his mind was drawn in a more particular manner to the consideration of the sacred writings: and perceiving with concern the ignorance that prevailed on the subject of scriptural divinity, he willingly imparted in private lectures such information as he had gained on reformed religion from the works of Luther and Erasmus, to those of the junior fellows or students, who wished 'to soar above the Aonian mount to Zion's hill and Siloa's brook,' or turn from logical schemes to Gospel truths. To what degrees he proceeded does not appear; but we learn from Bishop Tanner and Anthony Wood, that Cardinal Wolsey gave him a situation in his newly founded college, on account of his singular merits; where, however, he was afterwards imprisoned, and finally expelled, for espousing too openly the sentiments of the Saxon Reformer. He retired to King's College, Cambridge, where he was allowed to graduate.[2]

Quitting the University for the hospitable mansion of Sir John Welsh, at Little Sodbury, in Gloucestershire, he became tutor to that knight's children. In this situation, however, he did not 'neglect the gift that was in him,' or merge the character of public teacher in that of private instructor, but embraced every opportunity of preaching in Bristol and its neighbourhood. He also entered into frequent disputation with

[1] Biog. Britann.

[2] Athen. Oxon. vol. i. p. 33.—Fox, p. 1048.—Halle's Henry VIII. fol. 227.

the dignified clergy who resorted thither, over whom he had generally a great advantage in controversial matters; for, while their knowledge of the Scriptures was very scanty, and their acquaintance with Latin confined to the breviary or missal, his superior biblical and classical attainments enabled him to confute their positions by appeals to original authorities. This gave rise to many curious scenes, much to the annoyance of the ecclesiastics, and the amazement of the Knight and his friends, who had not been accustomed to hear the opinions of their reverences called in question. In one of these disputes, his antagonist, being hard pressed, exclaimed in a passion, 'Why, Sir, I say, we had better be without God's laws than the Pope's!'—'I defy the Pope and all his laws,' replied Tyndale; 'and if God spare my life, before many years are gone by, I'll teach one of the poor plough-boys to know more of the Scripture than *you* do!' When they found they could not answer him as a divine, they reviled him as a heretic, and told him, that though he depended on his interest with the country gentlemen, he should shortly be otherwise dealt with. 'Send me where you will,' said he, 'and do with me what you please; only allow me ten pounds a year, and give me liberty to preach to the people, and instruct their children.' Dame Welsh, who was a sensible and well-meaning woman, but somewhat scandalized at hearing those guests whom she had been in the habit of respecting so completely posed by the family tutor, asked him one day, rather warmly, 'Mr. Tyndale, our friend Dr. A. has been advanced to the wealthy dignity of B——; and Dr. C. is the rich beneficiary of D——; and Dr. E. is the powerful Rector of F——; and do you think it reasonable, that we should believe you before them?'

He made her no reply, and for a time entered less into argument; but meanwhile translated, from the Latin of Erasmus, 'The Manual of a Christian Soldier,' and presented it to Sir John and his Lady, who read it with attention, and were so much convinced by its reasonings on the spirituality of Christian profession, as to feel a growing distaste for the society and conversation of those ignorant and immoral ecclesiastics; which was no sooner perceived by them, than they became more bent on his removal from that part of the country, and preferred articles against him before the Chancellor of the diocese. On his way to attend the court, he prayed fervently that God would enable him to adhere steadfastly to the truth; and when he appeared, as none of the priests present chose to come forward as his accuser, he was severely reprimanded and dismissed. He then called on an old clergyman, by whom he was much respected, and who had himself served the office of a chancellor. To this friend he spake confidently of his situation, and told him his sentiments on many parts of the word of God. Before they parted, the ex-dignitary said to him, 'Do you not know that the Pope is very Antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if it should be known that such is your opinion, it would cost you your life. I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works!'

Though he was comforted by this sympathy, he found so much vexation from the clergy, that feeling convinced his further stay would only endanger the worthy Knight as well as himself, he left his roof upon proper representation, and repairing to London, preached at St. Dunstan's in the West. Conceiving a high opinion of Dr. Tonstall, Bishop of London, from some com-

mendations bestowed on him for his learning by Erasmus, he endeavoured to get into his household, anticipating facilities to his studies from such a change in his condition; and applied to a friend of Sir John Welsh, and a known patron of the scholars, Sir Henry Guildford, Master of the Horse and Comptroller to the King, to whom he presented an Oration of Isocrates, which he had translated from the Greek. This gentleman engaged to represent him to the Bishop, and further advised him to write an epistle to his Lordship, and carry it in person to the palace; which advice he followed, and delivered the epistle to a gentleman of the household to hand to the prelate. 'But God,' observes the pious martyrologist, 'who secretly disposeth the course of things, saw that was not best for Tyndale's purpose, nor for the profit of the church; and therefore gave him to find little favour in the Bishop's sight. The answer of whom was this, that his house was full; he had more than he could well provide for, and advised him to seek in London abroad, where he said he could lack no service.'

Humphrey Monmouth, Alderman and Draper, who had heard Tyndale preach at St. Dunstan's, happening to meet him a little before this application, inquired with much interest into his means of support, and was pleased to hear he was seeking for a chaplaincy. When, therefore, he was disappointed, he waited on this gentleman to inform him of the circumstance, who received him with great kindness, lodging him in his house for half a year, and enabled him to prosecute his studies. He was now intent on translating the New Testament, living very temperately, and, as it were, absorbed in the furtherance of an undertaking, whose importance, as it concerned the spiritual welfare of his

countrymen, appeared to him the greater every day. But finding that his design could not be accomplished in England without serious danger, he resolved to visit the Continent, his charitable host, with some other friends, engaging to grant him an annuity of ten pounds, which was regularly remitted to him by way of Hamburgh, and afforded an ample supply for his personal necessities.

He went first to Saxony, where he conferred with Luther and other reforming divines, and then turned back to the Netherlands, settling at Antwerp, where was a factory of British merchants, many of whom favoured the Protestant tenets. Here he received the valuable assistance of John Frith, and a monk named William Roye (a good man, who was afterwards burned in Portugal), who helped him in transcription and collation. In 1526, he printed an edition, in octavo, of his translation of the New Testament into English, consisting of 1500 copies, of which a great proportion was imported into England, and industriously dispersed. It was without calendar, concordance, or table, concluding with an epistle, in which he 'desired them that were learned to amend, if ought were amiss.'

The supporters of the old superstitions were greatly provoked at this proceeding. They declared that there were a thousand heresies in the work, which was so erroneous, that it would be lost labour to attempt the correction of what should be utterly suppressed. Some said, it was not possible to translate the Scriptures into English; some, that it was not lawful for the laity to have it in their mother tongue; others, that it would make them all heretics and rebels. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London issued orders and monitions to bring in all the New Testaments

translated into the vulgar tongue, that they might be burnt, and to prohibit the reading of them. Tonstall's order to his archdeacons, October 23, 1526, was to this effect: 'We, having understanding, that many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth and the Catholic faith, craftily have translated the New Testament into our English tongue, intermeddling therewith many heretical articles and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people, attempting by their wicked and perverse interpretations to prophane the majesty of the Scripture, which hitherto hath remained undefiled, and craftily to abuse the most holy word of God, and the true sense of the same: of the which translation there are many books imprinted, some with glosses and some without, containing in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison dispersed throughout all our diocese of London in great number: which truly, without it be speedily foreseen, will contaminate and infect the flock committed unto us with most deadly poison and heresy, to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge, and the offence of God's divine Majesty. Therefore we, grievously sorrowing for the premises, willing to withstand the craft and subtlety of the old enemy and his ministers, which seek the destruction of our flock; desiring to provide speedy remedies for the premises, do charge you, and by virtue of your obedience, straitly enjoin and command you, that by our authority you warn, or cause to be warned, all and singular, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your archdeaconries, that within thirty day's space, under pain of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresy, they do bring in, and really

deliver unto our vicar-general, all and singular such books as contain the translation of the New Testament in the English tongue, &c.' By the acknowledgement of Tyndale himself, there were many faults in this undertaking, but it was so much sought after, that the Dutch printers sent out four more editions before the translator thought fit to reprint it in an amended shape.

Several years afterwards, the Bishop being at Antwerp, and persisting in his desire to destroy the new translations as the best service he could render to the Romish faith, sent for Austin Packington, an English merchant who was there on business, and consulted with him on the means of preventing their circulation, and on the practicability of collecting the copies that might be yet unsold. Packington, who was a secret friend of Tyndale, and knew that he was in poor circumstances, told his Lordship, that if it was his pleasure to purchase them, he believed he had interest enough with the Dutchmen and strangers, who had bought them on speculation, to prevail with them to resign their stock for a fair consideration. The merchant acquainted Tyndale with the proposal, who regarding it as a providential circumstance, let him have his remaining copies, intending with the sum demanded for them to prepare a new and more correct edition. The books were brought over to England, and publicly burnt at Paul's Cross. But soon after, about 5000 copies of the first edition were reprinted, and arriving in the English market, made the work more accessible than before; on which the Bishop sent for Packington, asking, 'How comes this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? You promised me that you would buy them all.'—'My Lord,' said the merchant, 'I bought all that were to be had; but I perceive they have printed more

since. I see it will never be better so long as they have types and presses: so that the best way will be for your Lordship to buy up all the presses too, and then you will be sure!' Tonstall, who was a good-natured man, though vexed at the disappointment of his plan, could not forbear smiling at the merchant's wit, and so the affair ended. It excited, however, some sarcastic pleasantry against him. Constantine, a Cambridge student, and an acquaintance of Tyndale, was accused of heresy before Sir Thomas More, the Chancellor. 'Constantine,' said the Chancellor, 'I would have thee be plain with me as to one particular, and I promise thee I will show thee favour in all other things whereof thou art accused. There are beyond sea Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you; I know they cannot live without help. Somebody supplies them with money; and you, as a sharer in that assistance, must know whence it comes. Now tell me honestly, who is it?' 'My Lord,' answered the prisoner, 'I will tell you truly; it is the Bishop of London who has been our great helper, by buying up so many copies with intention to burn them!' 'Now, by the truth,' said More, 'I think so too; and I told the Bishop as much before he went about it!' The life of the accused was spared, and the prelate was joked as the great promoter of Tyndale's Testament. But Burnet observes, that in this affair judicious persons discerned the moderation of Tonstall. The good prelate would willingly put himself to considerable expense to burn the books of heretics; but he had too much humanity to be desirous, like many of his brethren, of burning the heretics themselves.

Tyndale, meanwhile, was sedulously engaged in preparing his new edition, and publishing various

treatises; such as, 'The Obedience of a Christian Man' —'The wicked Mammon'—'Expositions of important Passages of Scripture,' &c. Of the first, Strype has preserved an interesting anecdote. The Lady Anne Boleyn had a waiting-woman named Gainsford, who was beloved by George Zouch, a handsome page; and one day, as she was looking at Tyndale's 'Obedience of a Christian Man,' lent her by her mistress, the young gentleman sportively took it from her, and kept it for perusal. He became so attached to the work, that he could not be prevailed upon to return it, which caused the damsel to shed some tears. At that time, Cardinal Wolsey had charged the divines, and especially Dr. Sampson, Dean of the Royal Chapel, to take notice of those who read such books, and to prevent as much as possible this and similar works from reaching the King's hands. Zouch was standing in the chapel before Dr. Sampson, and reading the book, when the Dean reprimanded him, and taking it from him delivered it to the Cardinal. The Lady Anne asking her woman for it, in great fright she fell on her knees, and told the whole circumstance; but was somewhat relieved at finding that her mistress was neither displeased with her nor her lover, but simply said, 'Well, it shall be the dearest book that ever the Dean or the Cardinal took away.' The royal favourite went immediately to Henry, and requested that the book might be restored; and afterwards with much tenderness besought him to read it. The King was delighted with the treatise, and observed, 'This book is for me and all kings to read.' It was the means of enlightening the monarch's mind on religious subjects, and thus did Providence overrule a trivial event to the good of the church.

The people were disgusted at the measures pursued for stopping the circulation of God's word, using the simple argument, that those who prevented scriptural information must be conscious of something antiscriptural in the system they supported. The order for bringing in the Testaments was slowly complied with. Many fell under suspicion of concealing them, among whom was the author's brother, who was prosecuted and condemned to do penance, and his friend Monmouth, who was imprisoned in the Tower, and almost ruined.

In 1529, Sir Thomas More published a dialogue in defence of popish corruptions, and against the 'pestilent Sect of Luther and Tyndale;' in which he declared, 'That whoso called these books which were burnt New Testaments, gave them a wrong name, since they were rather Tyndale's or Luther's Testament, it being so corrupted and changed from the good and wholesome doctrine of Christ to their own devilish heresies as to be quite another thing.' Tyndale replied to this calumny, showing the reasons of his changing the words priest to *senior*, church to *congregation*, penance to *repentance*, charity to *love*, and saying, 'he did it not, as Sir Thomas untruly reported of him, of any mischievous design or purpose to establish heresy.' He added, 'that he verily believed Sir Thomas wrote not this Dialogue for any affection he bare unto the spirituality, or unto the opinions which he so barely defended, but to obtain only that which he was an hungered for.' He concluded, 'that Sir Thomas, who understood Greek, and knew these words long before he did, could not prove that he gave not the right English unto the Greek words; but that what made them, whose cause Sir Thomas espoused, so uneasy and impatient, was, they

had lost their juggling terms, wherewith they imposed on and misled the people.'[1]

Our Reformer having translated the Pentateuch, was going to Hamburgh by sea, in order to print it, but was wrecked on the coast of Holland, losing all his money, books, writings, and copies. This, after all his pains, must have been a severe trial; but he sustained it as a man who submitted in all things to the will of his God, and going on in another vessel to Hamburgh, where by his appointment Miles Coverdale, a Yorkshireman, of Austin Friars, Cambridge, was waiting for him, he was hospitably entertained, with his friend, by a Dutch widow named Emerson, under whose roof they remained from Easter to December, translating the Pentateuch over again, which was printed in the following year. His next care was to make an English version of Jonah, to which he prefixed a copious prologue.

The English monarch in the mean time scarcely knew how to act for the better, between a conviction that it was right to publish the sacred volume, and the assurances given him by the learned, that Tyndale's translation could not be trusted. He was at length induced, after holding a court of Star Chamber on the 25th of May, 1531, at which were present the principal divines and deputies from the universities, to order that 'all the books containing such heresies as had been complained of, with the translation also of Scripture corrupted by William Tyndale, as well in the Old Testament as in the New, should utterly be expelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people, and not be suffered to get abroad among his subjects.' But Hall, in his Chronicle, informs us, that 'the King,

[1] Lewis, Hist. of Trans. of the Bible, pp .71, 72.

in pursuance of his own settled judgment, that a great deal of good might come of the people's reading the New Testament with reverence, and following of it, commanded the bishops to call to them the best learned of the two universities, and to cause a new translation to be made, that the people should not be ignorant in the law of God; but that notwithstanding this injunction of the King, the bishops did nothing at all to set forth a new translation, which caused the people still to read and study that of Tyndale, by reason whereof many things came to light.'

Tyndale's corrected edition appeared in 1534; and the reader may be pleased to see, in the following extract from the Prologue to the Epistle to the Romans, at once a specimen of its orthography and of the divinity of its author.

'Now go to, reader, and according to the order of Paul's wryting, even so do thou. Fyrst, beholde thyselfe diligently in the lawe of God, and se there the juste damnacion. Secondarely, turne thyne eyes to Christ, and se there the exceeding mercy of thy moost kynd and lovinge Father. Thyrdly, remember that Christ made not this atonement that thou shuldest anger God agayne: neither dyed he for thy synnes, that thou shuldest lyve styll in them: nether clenseth he the, that thou shuldest retourne (as a swyne) unto thyne olde podel agayne: but that thou shuldest be a newe creature, and lyve a new lyfe after the wyll of God, and not of the fleshe. And be diligent least thorowe thyne own negligence and unthankfulness thou lose this favoure and mercye agayne.'

We now come to the closing scene of the blessed translator's life; a scene which exhibits cruel perfidy on the side of his persecutors, and heavenly resignation

on his own. After he had returned to Antwerp, and had taken up his abode at an hotel for English merchants, kept by one Thomas Poyntz, a fellow-countryman, there arrived a stranger from England, of good person and address, having the appearance of a gentleman, and attended by a servant. His name was Henry Philips, whose father was a custom-house officer at Poole, but who had himself been educated at Louvaine. None of the merchants knew for what purpose he came among them, but some of them showed him attention, inviting him to their tables, where he frequently met Tyndale, and made himself so acceptable by his pleasing manners and conversation, that he invited him to his lodgings at the hotel, where he soon afterwards took an apartment for himself. Their intimacy increased, Tyndale was in the habit of showing him his books and private papers, with which the stranger seemed much delighted. The master of the hotel, being more suspicious than his simple-hearted inmate, asked him one day where he met with this Master Philips? Tyndale answered, that he was an honourable man, a scholar, and a gentleman; on which Poyntz desisted from further inquiry, thinking that Tyndale had been introduced to him by some mutual friend, and was convinced of his respectability. Not long afterwards, Philips invited Poyntz to walk with him out of the town, and show him what was worth seeing, entering into discourse on various public affairs, and on the situation of the King of England, of whom he affected to speak somewhat mysteriously, and left the impression on Poyntz's mind that he was on some secret mission, and well supplied with money for his purpose. Poyntz, however, as a prudent man, did not encourage any particular

communication; but in the sequel was convinced that the stranger had intended to bribe him.

Philips then went to Brussels, which was under the government of the Lady Catharine, aunt to the Emperor, between whom and Henry there was a disagreement. As the English ambassador had been withdrawn, the visit of an Englishman was regarded there as an opportunity of forwarding an intrigue against the interests of Protestantism; and Philips so far ingratiated himself with persons in power, that he got the Attorney-general of the Emperor, and other officers, to return with him to Antwerp, for the seizure of the unsuspecting Tyndale. As Poyntz was sitting at his door, the servant of Philips came up, and inquiring if Tyndale were within, said his master intended to call on him. A few days after, when the host was gone to a neighbouring town, Philips came to his wife, and desired her to provide dinner for himself and Tyndale, whom he meant to invite to take part of his cheer. He came again at noon, and going to Tyndale's apartment, borrowed of him forty shillings, complaining that he had lost his purse in the passage from Mechlin. 'Come,' said he, 'you must dine with me to-day.'—'I am engaged elsewhere,' answered Tyndale; 'but you shall go with me, and I am sure you will be welcome.' At the appointed hour they set out together, and in passing through the narrow entry of the hotel, Philips, with a show of humble courtesy, insisted on Tyndale's preceding him. This was a designed manœuvre, on the part of the traitor; for, as his victim was short, and he was tall, he pointed down on Tyndale when they went to the door-way, and immediately two officers rushed upon him, and, after bringing him before the imperial lawyer, and seizing his

papers, conveyed him to the castle of Vilvorden, eighteen miles distant from Antwerp, where he remained prisoner about a year and a half.

The English merchants procured letters from Secretary Cromwell to the court of Brussels for his release; but in vain, as his destruction was resolved on. When brought to his trial, he was offered an advocate and a proctor, according to the custom of the country; but he refused their assistance, preferring to plead his own cause. However cogent his arguments might be, they prevailed not with his judges, who condemned him by virtue of the Emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburg. Being led to the place of execution, he was tied to a stake, calling out, 'Lord, open the King of England's eyes!' He was then strangled, and his body consumed to ashes!

During his imprisonment he was instrumental in the conversion of the gaolor and several of his family. The imperial officers were so struck with his piety and conversation, that they pronounced him 'a learned, pious, and good man.' His course of life had been most exemplary for studious application and methodical arrangement. He used to call the first and last days of the week 'his holidays.' On the former, he regularly visited and relieved such of his countrymen as had fled from England on account of religious persecution; on the latter, he sought out in the lanes and corners of Antwerp such poor natives as stood in need of instruction and consolation. In bestowing alms, he appeared as an angel of mercy; in preaching the word, he spoke like an Apostle. On the Sabbath, the merchants used to meet in the house of some one of their number, when he attended and expounded to them the Scriptures. As a translator, his integrity is most satis-

factory. 'I call God to witness,' said he, 'when I shall appear at the judgment-seat of Christ, to give an account of all my actions, that I have not altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience; nor would I, for all the honours of this world, if they were laid at my feet.'

To Englishmen and Protestants his name is peculiarly dear. Bishop Bale declared, 'that for knowledge, purity of doctrine, and holiness of life, he ought to be reckoned the next English Reformer after Wickliffe; and that he was born for the edification and "conversion of many souls." He it was who furnished the basis of that Bible which millions of his countrymen have since "esteemed above their chief joy." Of the translation itself, Dr. Geddes has observed, that 'though it is far from a perfect translation, yet few first translations will be found preferable to it. It is astonishing, how little obsolete the language of it is, even at this day; and in point of perspicuity and noble simplicity, propriety of idiom, and purity of style, no English version has yet surpassed it.'

He sowed the seed, that still shall spring and give
Rich fruits and flowers, that will long survive
All chance, all change; and though the night may come,
And though the deeper darkness of the tomb,
A Sun more bright than ours shall bid them grow,
And on the very grave hope's buds will blow;
And blow like those sweet flowers that pluck'd ne'er lose
Their freshness, or their fragrance, or their hues.

Patrick Hamilton.

The doctrines of the Reformation, imported from the Continent, found an early welcome in the northern parts of Britain. The errors and corruptions of Popery had been detected by many before the sixteenth century; and the minds of the next generation had been predisposed to receive the tenets of Protestantism. The sentiments of Wickliffe were embraced by some respectable families in the south-west parts of Scotland. Murdoch Nisbet, driven from his native land, procured a manuscript copy of the New Testament, which on his return he concealed in a vault, and read to his friends under cover of the night. Gordon, of Earlston, lectured from the sacred volume to a select congregation, in a wood near his house. Robert Campbell, of Kinyeauclugh, suffered for his adherence to the simplicity of the Gospel, in the reign of James the Fourth. So early as 1416, it was enacted, in the University of St. Andrew's, that all who proceeded Masters of Arts should swear to resist Lollardism.[1] While this fact bears evidence to the secret entertainment given, in many quarters, to the doctrines promulgated by Wickliffe, there are not wanting testimonies to the superior information on religious subjects, which obtained in the next age among the Melvilles, Erskines,

[1] M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i. note D.

and Duncans of Fife. How much more honourable to the respective families to reckon such worthies among their ancestors, than heroes, whose desperate valour, in a domestic feud or border fray, was too often stained with savage ferocity or unrelenting revenge! Of Patrick Hamilton, the memorial is peculiarly dear, not only for the intrinsic excellence of his character, but on account of his sufferings for the truth.

Historians represent him as of royal descent; nephew, by his father, to James Hamilton, Earl of Arran; and by his mother, to John Stewart, Duke of Albany. He was born in 1503, and noted in youth for his amiable disposition, quick genius, and diligent application. His appointment to the Abbey of Fearn was an earnest of the higher dignities of the Scottish church which awaited him from his great family interest; and an instance of the custom of investing persons of immature age with ecclesiastical authority, which was among the more palpable disorders of the Romish system.[1]

On the completion of the usual course of study at the University of St. Andrew's he was led, from a desire of investigating scriptural divinity, to seek an acquaintance with the German Reformers; and at the age of twenty-three, set out with three companions for Wittenberg, where he held frequent conferences with Luther and Melancthon. From thence he went to Marpurg, where a university had been newly erected by Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. The prince, an early patron of the Reformers, convinced of the intimate union of ignorance and superstition, promoted the

[1] Buchanan. l. xiv. § 32.—Knox, b. i. p. 4.—Leslie, de Reb. gest. Scotorum, l. ix. p. 407.—Holinshed, vol. ii. pp. 179, 180.

interests of learning as subservient to the cause of Reformation; and invited Lambert, of Avignon,[1] to aid the efforts of Protestantism in his dominions. The learned Frenchman became, in 1527, the first theological Professor in the new institution, and publicly disputed against the Romish errors. Hamilton attained considerable distinction; and, at the instigation of Lambert, defended some propositions on faith and works, which were afterwards translated by the excellent Frith, and published in England under the denomination of Patrick's Common Places.

The opinion entertained of Hamilton, by Lambert, is left on record in the Preface to his Commentary on the Revelations, edited in 1528, and dedicated to the Landgrave. 'I can say of him, that I have scarcely met with any man who can speak with more spirituality and purity on divine subjects; about which we have held frequent conferences. He was the first, too, who openly defended, at my entreaty, certain Christian axioms, in the college established by your Highness.' Gerdesius observes, from this passage, that he thinks Fox and Scultetus were mistaken in supposing our Reformer to have become a Professor, and that he merely set the example of defending the Protestant theses in the schools.

How well qualified he was for this undertaking, may appear from a reference to the 'Common Places' themselves. We extract the maxims on the legal and evangelical dispensations.

Nature and Office of Law and Gospel.

The Law showeth us our sin.—Rom. iii.
The Gospel showeth us a remedy.—John i.

[1] This person has been erroneously confounded with John Lambert, the English martyr.

The Law showeth us our condemnation,—Rom. vii.
The Gospel showeth us our redemption,—Col. i.
The Law is the word of wrath.—Rom. iv.
The Gospel is the word of grace.—Acts xiv. 20.
The Law is the word of despair.—Deut. xxvii.
The Gospel is the word of comfort.—Luke ii.
The Law is the word of disquietude.—Rom. vii.
The Gospel is the word of peace.—Eph. vi.

Dispute between Law and Gospel; in which is shown the difference of one to the other.

The Law saith, Pay the debt.
The Gospel saith, Christ hath paid it.
The Law saith, Thou art a Sinner; despair, and thou shalt be damned.
The Gospel saith, Thy sins are forgiven thee; be of good comfort, for thou shalt be saved.
The Law saith, Make amends for thy sins.
The Gospel saith, Christ hath made it for me.
The Law saith, The Father of heaven is angry with thee.
The Gospel saith, Christ hath pacified him with his blood.
The Law saith, Where is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction?
The Gospel saith, Christ is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction.
The Law saith, Thou art bound and obliged to me, the devil and hell.
The Gospel saith, Christ hath delivered thee from them all.

Comparison between Faith and Unbelief.

Faith is the root of all good.
Unbelief is the root of all evil.
Faith maketh God and man good friends.
Unbelief maketh them foes.
Faith bringeth God and man together.
Unbelief separates them.
All that Faith doth pleaseth God.
All that unbelief doth displeaseth God.
Faith only maketh a man good and righteous.
Unbelief maketh him unjust and evil.

Faith maketh a man a member of Christ.
Unbelief maketh him a member of the devil.
Faith maketh him an inheritor of heaven.
Unbelief maketh him the heir of hell.
Faith maketh him the servant of God.
Unbelief maketh him the servant of the devil.
Faith showeth us God to be a tender father.
Unbelief showeth him to be a terrible judge.
Faith holdeth fast by the word of God.
Unbelief wavereth here and there.
Faith esteemeth God to be true.
Unbelief looketh upon him to be false and a liar.
Faith knoweth God.
Unbelief knoweth him not.
Faith loveth both God and his neighbour.
Unbelief loveth neither.
Faith only saveth us.
Unbelief only condemneth us.

But, however agreeable the society he met with on the continent, he was too ardent and patriotic to delay his return to his beloved country, to which he desired to make known the purer truths which he had learnt abroad. He soon revisited Scotland, accompanied by one of his fellow-travellers, where he declaimed against the corruptions of popery, and boldly reproved the superstitious practices which had been sanctioned by the church. His graceful eloquence, superior information, courteous manner, and blameless conduct, united with his high connexion, and a countenance expressive of gravity and benignity, as appears from his portrait preserved at Glasgow, rendered the youthful abbot exceedingly popular. The clergy took the alarm; though he appears to have been remarkably prudent, and to have avoided the irritation of their prejudices, as far as was consistent with the sacred cause of truth. Conscious of the ignorance, carelessness, and sensuality, so evidently opposed to his learning, zeal,

and integrity, they waited an opportunity of wreaking their vengeance, and hoped, by removing the attractive preacher, to stop the progress of the reformed doctrine.

He expressed himself with so much caution, that they found it difficult to commence persecution on any plausible grounds. They at length resorted to stratagem; and, pretending that James Beatoun, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and other dignitaries, wished to converse with him on theological subjects, persuaded him to consent to an interview. A crafty Dominican, named Campbell, was employed to circumvent him, and, by affecting to feel conviction from his arguments, to induce him to such a complete declaration of his sentiments as should furnish matter for distinct accusation. The prelate himself also allowing the justice of some of his statements, he stayed some time at St. Andrew's, unsuspicious of danger. His enemies were still afraid to proceed to extremities, on account of his royal alliance and excellent character. At length they planned to advise their Sovereign to undertake a distant pilgrimage; on which he was no sooner set out, than they seized their intended victim in his bed, and conveyed him to the castle. The next day, which was the first of March, 1527, he was summoned to appear before the archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, with the bishops of Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dunblane.

Before this tribunal he was accused of maintaining the following obnoxious and heretical tenets:—'That the corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism—that no man, by the power of his free-will, can do any good—that no man is without sin so long as he liveth—that every true Christian may know himself to be in a state of grace—that a man is not justified

by works, but by faith only—that good works make not a good man, but that a good man doeth good works, and an ill man ill works, although these ill works, if truly repented of, do not make an ill man—that faith, hope, and charity, are so linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all—that God is the cause of sin in this sense, that he withdraweth his grace from man, and grace withdrawn he cannot but sin—that it is devilish doctrine to teach, that by any actual penance remission of sin is purchased—that auricular confession is not necessary to salvation—that there is no purgatory—that the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion—that the Pope is Antichrist—and that every priest hath as much power as the Pope.'[1]

The accused admitted the allegation as far as the first seven articles. As to the remainder, he considered them as disputable points, but such as he could not conscientiously condemn, unless he heard stronger reasons brought against them than had hitherto been offered. This prudent answer, however, availed him nothing. They proceeded to pronounce the following sentence :—

'*Christi nomine invocato*: We, James, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, Primate of Scotland, with the counsel, decree and authority of the most reverend Fathers in God, and lords, abbots, doctors of theology, professors of the holy Scripture, and masters of the University, assisting us for the time, sitting in judgment within our metropolitan church of St Andrew's, in the cause of heretical pravity, against Mr. Patrick Hamilton, abbot or pensionary of Ferme,

[1] Spottiswoode's Hist. of Ch. of Scotland, b. ii. p. 63.

being summoned to appear before us, to answer to certain articles affirmed, taught and preached by him, and so appearing before us, and accused, the merits of the cause being ripely weighed, discussed, and understood by faithful inquisition made in Lent last past: We have found the same Patrick Hamilton many ways inflamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther, and his followers, repugnant to our faith, and which are already condemned by general councils, and most famous universities. And he being under the same infamy, we decerning before him to be summoned and accused upon the premises, he of evil mind (as may be presumed) passed to other parts forth of the realm, suspected and noted of heresy. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without licence or privilege, hath presumed to preach wicked heresy.

'We have found also, that he hath affirmed, published, and taught divers opinions of Luther, and wicked heresies, after that he was summoned to appear before us, and our council: That man hath no free-will—that man is in sin so long as he liveth—&c. &c. with divers other heresies and detestable opinions: and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that by no counsel or persuasion he may be drawn therefrom to the way of our right faith.

'All these premises being considered, we, having God and the integrity of our faith before our eyes, and following the counsel and advice of the professors of the holy Scriptures, men of law, and others assisting us for the time, do pronounce, determine, and declare the said Mr. Patrick Hamilton, for his affirming, confessing, and maintaining of the aforesaid heresies, and

his pertinacity (they being condemned already by the church, general councils, and most famous universities), to be an heretic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith; and therefore to be condemned and punished, like as we condemn, and define him to be punished, by this our sentence definitive, depriving and sentencing him to be deprived of all dignities, orders, offices, and benefices of the church; and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over unto the secular power, to be punished, and his goods to be confiscate.

'This our sentence definitive was given and read at our metropolitan church of St. Andrew's, the last day of the month of February, 1527, being present the most reverend Fathers in Christ, and Lords, Gawand, bishop of Glasgow; George, bishop of Dunkeld; John, bishop of Brechin; William, bishop Dunblane; Patrick, prior of St. Andrew's; David, abbot of Aberbrothoke; George, abbot of Dunfermline; Alexander, abbot of Caunbuskineth; Henry, abbot of Lendors; John, prior of Peterweme; the dean and subdean of Glasgow; Mr. Hew Spens, Thomas Ramsay, Allane Meldrum, &c. In the presence of the clergy and people.'[1]

That this sentence might have the greater authority, they caused it to be signed by all present of any account, whether clergy or laity: and, in order to make their number appear great, they took the subscription of the very children of the nobility.

'Whatever opinion,' observes Dr. Cook, of Lau rencekirk, 'may be entertained of the points which he believed to be taught in Scripture; however much

[1] Fox, pp. 947, 948.

it may be regretted, that the attention of the Reformers was so early and so much fixed upon dark and disputable subjects, whilst the more obvious and interesting truths of revelation were less strenuously inculcated, it is apparent, that the sentiments, for which Hamilton was accused, contained enough to show, that the Church of Rome was built upon a wrong foundation; that the judges, who were to determine his fate, were the supporters of delusion and superstition. They accordingly paid little regard to what he urged in favour of his principles; but, without hesitation, pronounced the awful sentence; delivering him over to the secular power, that he might suffer the shocking death, which the barbarity of men, professing to be the teachers of a religion of mercy, had destined for all upon whom they could fix the imputation of heresy. The area before the gate of St. Salvator's college, was appointed to be the scene of execution; and, with aggravated cruelty, he was, on the same day upon which he had been condemned, led forth to the stake.'[1]

During the arrangement of the circumstances preparatory to the combustion, he exhibited the same sweetness and courtesy by which he had been constantly characterized. He gave to his faithful servant his gown, coat, cap, and some other articles, saying, 'These are the last things you can receive of me; nor have I any thing now to leave you, but the example of my death, which I pray you to bear in mind; for though it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before men, yet it is the entrance into eternal life, which none shall inherit who deny Jesus Christ before this wicked gene-

[1] Hist. of Reform. in Scotland, v. i. p. 146.

ration.' He was then bound to the stake in the midst of faggots, coal, and other materials, which it was attempted to ignite with gunpowder; but, from negligence, or accident, the explosion failed, and only scorched one side of his body and his face. Messengers were dispatched to the castle for more powder and combustibles; and some friars, among whom Campbell was the most importunate, urged him to recant. When the fire was kindled, it burnt so slowly, that he endured extreme suffering. 'Turn, thou heretic,' said some spectators, prompted by the monks, 'pray to the virgin!' 'Depart from me,' replied the pious martyr, 'and trouble me not, ye agents of Satan!' He mildly besought Campbell to cease his importunity; and at length, in a solemn manner, addressed this faithless friend: 'Wicked man! thou knowest I am not an heretic, and hast confessed the same to me in private; but I appeal to the just tribunal of Jesus Christ, and cite you to appear there to answer for it to Almighty God. Oh Lord! how long shall darkness overwhelm my country? How long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of these unrighteous men?' An increase of fuel now terminated his anguish.

John Andrew Duncan, of Airdrie, a spirited young Laird, who loved and honoured the Abbot, and who had himself been menaced for his attachment to the Reformation, had armed and mounted a score of his tenants and servants, intending to enter the city by night, with the view, as is supposed, of rescuing his friend. But his small party was surrounded, and himself apprehended by a troop of horsemen, commanded by Patrick Duncanson, a gentleman of Angus, who had married his sister.[1] The execution, however,

[1] Biog. Brit. v. 492. 2d. Edit.

created great disgust among the people; and even those, who were not enlightened with Protestant sentiments, pitied the youthful and amiable sufferer. The bigoted clergy were disappointed at perceiving this effect on the public mind; which was much increased by the fate of Campbell, whose end they contrasted with that of Hamilton. This wretched man became the prey of remorse, and expired at Glasgow in a state of despair in the following twelvemonth.

'After the condemnation and martyrdom of this true saint of God was despatched by the bishops and doctors of Scotland,' says Fox, 'the rulers and doctors of the University of Louvaine, hearing thereof, received such joy and consolation at the shedding of that innocent blood, that, for the abundance of heart, they could not stay their pen to utter condign thanks, applauding and triumphing, in their letters sent to the foresaid Bishop of St. Andrew's and Doctors of Scotland, at the worthy and famous deservings of their achieved enterprize in that behalf.'

Meritorious, however, as this persecution might appear in the eyes of these foreign theologians, no event of the day had a greater tendency to promote the cause of Reformation at home. Seton, the Dominican confessor of the King, openly inveighed against the existing corruptions; and being denounced as a heretic, effected his retreat to England. Forrest, a young Benedictine, was convicted of entertaining favourable sentiments of Hamilton, and of possessing an English translation of the New Testament. When it was determined to burn him alive, a retainer of the Archbishop, who, probably, dared not declare his opinion in a more unequivocal manner, observed with considerable point, that it was advisable to burn him in a low

cellar, because the smoke of Patrick Hamilton had infected all upon whom it blew.'

Jonston, a Scotch bard, who wrote a volume of Latin poetry on the martyrs of his country, has bequeathed an elegant tribute to the memory of the subject of our memoir, which has been published by M'Crie, in his Life of Knox, from a manuscript in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, of which the following is a translation :—

On German altars fell from heav'n the beam,
Where Leine and Elbe glide on with silver stream.
A master-spirit to our border came,
Bearing aloft the consecrated flame.
How blest, my Scotland, had'st thou hail'd the ray,
And follow'd where thy patriot led the way!
But bigot zeal, in error's grosser night,
Lov'd its own darkness, and refus'd the light.
Thy sons, with brutal force, or deadly guile,
Drag the meek victim to a burning pile.
Thus he, who living shone with heav'nly rays,
Dying illumes his country with a blaze!

Knox.

The great Reformer of Scotland, John Knox, was descended of an ancient family in Renfrewshire, and allied on his maternal side to the Sinclairs. He was born in 1505, at Gifford, a village in East Lothian near Haddington, if not in the town itself, to which on no very strong ground some authorities incline. It was however in the grammar-school of this town that he received the rudiments of education, from whence he was removed to the university of St. Andrew's, and placed under John Mair or Major, a celebrated professor of philosophy and theology. He soon excelled in the dialectics of the day, was created Master of Arts, and advanced to clerical orders before the time usually allowed by the canons of the church.

'It was not long however,' observes the latest of his biographers, 'till his studies received a new direction, which led to a complete revolution in his religious sentiments, and had an important influence on the whole of his future life. Not satisfied with the excerpts from ancient authors, which he found in the writings of the scholastic divines and canonists, he resolved to have recourse to the original works. In them he found a method of investigating and communicating truth, to which he had hitherto been a stranger, and the simplicity of which recommended itself to his mind, in spite of the prejudices of education, and the pride of superior

attainments in his own favourite art. Among the fathers of the Christian church, Jerome and Augustine attracted his particular attention. By the writings of the former, he was led to the Scriptures as the only pure fountain of divine truth, and instructed in the utility of studying them in the original languages. In the works of the latter, he found religious sentiments very opposite to those taught in the Romish church, who, while she retained his name as a saint in her calendar, had banished his doctrine, as heretical, from her pulpits. From this time, he renounced the study of scholastic theology; and although not yet completely emancipated from superstition, his mind was fitted for improving the means which Providence had prepared for leading him to a fuller and more comprehensive view of the system of evangelical religion. It was about the year 1535, when this favourable change commenced; but it does not appear that he professed himself a Protestant before the year 1542.'[1]

The principles of the reformation had made considerable progress in Scotland, under the reign of James V. and the political changes which took place on the death of that monarch, could not entirely prevent their further increase. Cardinal Beatoun, an ambitious and bigoted papist, had endeavoured to secure to himself the regency during the minority of the young Queen Mary; but the Earl of Arran, who was attached to the new tenets, obtained the government; and Henry VIII. seized the opportunity of pressing an union between his son Edward and the interesting successor to the Scottish crown. But the Arran party proved too weak to carry all their designs against the intrigues of the Cardinal and Queen-mother, and the Regent found it politically

[1] M'Crie's Life of Knox, V. I. p. 13.

expedient to abjure the reformed faith, while Mary herself was betrothed to the Dauphin, and sent to France for education. He had nevertheless been an instrument in the hands of Providence to disseminate evangelical truth before his abjuration; his chaplains had converted many Romanists, and the parliament had declared it lawful for all classes to read the scriptures in the vernacular tongue.

To one of the Regent's preachers Knox was indebted for much insight into biblical knowledge and a purer system. Thomas Guillaume, a native of Athelstone-ford in East Lothian, had thrown off the Dominican habit, translated the New Testament, and declaimed against the papal authority with great force of eloquence. The impression received under the ministry of this powerful herald of the gospel, was deepened by the discourses of the amiable and pious George Wishart. This excellent character, brother to the Laird of Pitarrow in Mearns, having been driven into banishment by the Bishop of Brechin, for teaching the Greek Testament in Montrose, had resided for some years at Cambridge, and was now returned to his native country, in the company of some commissioners who had been to England respecting the marriage. Zealous for the salvation of Caledonia, he lifted up the standard of the cross in Montrose and Dundee. One day a fanatic priest waited for him at the bottom of the stairs, as he came down from an apartment where he had been preaching, in the latter town, with a dagger under his gown. Suspecting some mischief, Wishart suddenly sprung upon him, saying, 'Well, friend, what's your pleasure?' and clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him; when the assassin fell down upon his knees, and craved his pardon. Some of his hearers

alarmed for his safety, burst upon them, crying, 'Deliver up the traitor!' 'No,' said Wishart, clasping him, 'Whoever hurts him must first hurt me; he has done me no harm, but much good; he has taught me to be more careful for the time to come.' In commemoration of this providential escape, Knox for some time carried the weapon before Wishart, who was gratified with the affection of his young friend, and seems to have felt that if he were himself destroyed by the Romanists, he should leave one behind him, who would do the work of an Evangelist. On the night in which this Christian hero was seized by Bothwell, he took the dagger from Knox, who entreated that he might accompany him, dismissing him with this refusal, 'Nay, return to your pupils, and may God bless you! One is sufficient for a sacrifice!'

Knox became tutor to the sons of the lairds of Ormiston and Langniddrie, residing generally at the house of the latter, and catechising them publicly, to give others the opportunity of attending in a chapel, in which at stated times he expounded the Scriptures. This proceeding was not however without some danger, as the influence of the Cardinal led the existing authorities to persecute even unto death all who presumed to depart from the regulations of the Romish church. Such was the cruelty exercised against them, that four respectable persons were hanged at Perth for *eating a goose* on a Friday; and a poor young woman was drowned with her baby at her breast, because she did not *invoke the Virgin Mary* in her labour. These horrid measures provoked some conspirators to put him to death at the castle of St. Andrews, on the 29th of May, 1546.[1]

[1] Chalmers, Caledonia, II. 526.—Pitscottie's History of Scotland, 88, &c.—Knox's Historie of the Reformation.

According to some accounts, Knox was actually seized by the agents of the Cardinal; but however this be, he was in much imminent danger, not only from the designs of that ecclesiastic, but also from those of John Hamilton, an illegitimate brother of the Regent, his successor in the see of St. Andrews; that he was obliged to conceal himself, and to remove from place to place, to provide for his safety. He meditated a retreat to Germany; because in England, though the Pope's authority was suppressed, the greater part of his doctrine remained in full vigour, and the conduct of Henry VIII. on religious topics was arbitrary and capricious. But this design was so repugnant to the wishes of the two lairds his patrons, that he relinquished it at their entreaty, and entered the castle of St. Andrews, in Easter 1547, with intent to prosecute the education of his young charges, and lend such assistance to the reformed cause as might be practicable. The conspirators keeping possession of the castle, the Regent had marched against it, to release his eldest son, who had been retained by Beatoun as a pledge of his father's fidelity, and was now fallen into their hands; but he found its reduction an enterprize of much difficulty, while it afforded an asylum to great numbers of Protestants. In the chapel of the castle Knox continued a lecture on St. John's gospel, which he had begun to read to his pupils at Langniddrie, and catechized them publicly in the parish church belonging to the city.

Among the persons who usually attended on these occasions, were John Rough, who had been one of Arran's chaplains, and was now preacher to the garrison; Henry Balnaves, a lawyer and statesman, who had been Arran's secretary of state; and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lyon King at Arms, the Erasmus

of Scotland, whose wit and genius had been employed in lashing the vices of the clergy and the manners of the age, both in prose and verse. Though of such different professional character, they were united in attachment to the reformed tenets, and urged Knox strongly to preach in public, and become colleague to Rough; but he refused, alleging, 'that he would not run, where God had not called him;' meaning, that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation. Rough accordingly preached a sermon on the election of ministers, in which he declared the power which a congregation, however small, had over any one in whom they perceived gifts suited to the office, and how dangerous it was for such a person to reject the call of those who desired instruction. Sermon being concluded, the preacher turned to Knox, addressing him in this pointed manner: 'Brother, you shall not be offended, although I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this: In the name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ; and in the name of all that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation; but as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom you understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that you take the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces unto you.' Then directing himself to the congregation, he said, 'Was not this your charge unto me? and do you not approve this vocation?' They answered, 'It was, and we approve it.' Overcome by this appeal and nomination, Knox

failed in an attempt at reply, and rushed to his chamber to meditate on the importance of the proposal.

The deep responsibility of the ministerial office, the accidental peril of its assumption from the circumstances of the day, and the consequent decision of character to which its possessor was called, might well account for the mental anxiety of the Scotch Reformer, at this critical period of his life; without taking the pains, which Dr. M'Crie has thought it expedient to bestow, in analyzing the causes of that anxiety, to prove that it did not arise from any suspicion of deficiency in the external formalities of his call. The respectable biographer, who discovers in this part of his work no inconsiderable portion of anti-episcopal feeling, observes, 'I will not say that our Reformer utterly disregarded his early ordination in the Popish church (although, if we may credit the testimony of his adversaries, this was his sentiment), but I have little doubt that he looked upon the charge which he received at St. Andrews as principally constituting his call to the ministry.'[1] It may be permitted to remark on this observation, that if Knox could argue from the abuse of episcopacy in the Romish hierarchy, against its use as a very primitive form of government and conveyance of ordination, so far as *utterly to disregard* the sacred function received from that church, (without entering into the comparative question between his prior ordination and subsequent charge) it would be difficult to consider him as exhibiting in this instance the judgment and modesty becoming the well-read scholar or the humble divine.

Any hesitation which he may have felt in accepting the call of the congregation was probably terminated by

[1] Vol. I. p. 57.

the result of a dispute which he held with a theologian of note and authority, named Annand. This polemic, driven from all his strong holds in argument by the superior skill and information of Knox, took refuge in the doctrine of the infallible authority of the church, which he alleged had rendered all further debate on these points unnecessary, by its condemnation of the tenets of the Lutherans as heretical. Knox replied, that before the admission of the authority of a church, it was necessary to prove it a true church by scriptural tests. 'For (said he) as for your Roman church, as it is now corrupted, wherein stands the hope of your victory, I no more doubt that it is the synagogue of Satan, and the head thereof, called the Pope, to be the Man of Sin of whom the apostle speaks, than I doubt that Jesus Christ suffered by the procurement of the visible church of Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself, by word or writing, to prove the Roman church this day farther degenerate from the purity which was in the days of the apostles, than were the church of the Jews from the ordinances given by Moses, when they consented to the innocent death of Jesus Christ.' This was undoubtedly very strong language; but he engaged, at the request of the audience, to maintain his position on the following Sunday.

He then preached from the seventh chapter of Daniel, and the latter part. Having shown that the four mystic animals represented the Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires, out of the ruins of the last of which rose the empire described in his text, he proceeded to show that this was applicable to no power but the Papal; and proved to the satisfaction of his auditory that the Pope was Antichrist, and that the doctrine of the Romish church was contrary to the doctrine

of Christ and his apostles. This sermon occasioned much conversation among all descriptions of the public. Some said, 'Others have hewed the branches of papistry, but he striketh at the root, to destroy the whole.' Some remarked, 'If our doctors do not now defend the Pope and his authority which have been so openly impugned, the devil take my part of him, and his laws too.' Some observed, 'Mr. George Wishart spoke less plainly, and was burnt for it; and so will he be in the end. The tyranny of the Cardinal however made not his cause the better, neither yet the suffering of God's servant made his cause the worse.' 'Then,' replied the Laird of Niddrie, 'we would advise you and them to provide better defences than fire and sword; for it may be that else ye shall be disappointed: men now have other eyes than they had then.'

The Vicar-General, at the instance of the bishop-elect, summoned Knox and Rough before a convention of the learned men of the abbey and university in St. Leonard's Yards, when Nine Articles were exhibited against them.

1. No mortal man can be the head of the church.
2. The Pope is Antichrist, and therefore no member of the mystical body of Christ.
3. Man may neither make nor devise a Religion, that is acceptable to God; but Man is bound to observe and keep the religion that from God is received, without chopping or changing thereof.
4. The Sacraments of the New Testament ought to be ministered, as they were instituted by Jesus Christ, and practised by his apostles: nothing ought to be added unto them, nothing ought to be diminished from them.
5. The Mass is abominable Idolatry, blasphemous to

the death of Christ, and a profanation of the Lord's Supper.

6. There is no Purgatory, in which the souls of men can either be pained or purged after this life. But heaven remains for the faithful, and hell for the reprobate and unfaithful.
7. Prayer *for* the dead is vain, and *to* the dead is idolatrous.
8. There are no bishops, except they preach even by themselves without any substitute.
9. Tithes by the law of God do not appertain of necessity to churchmen.

Knox conducted the defence for himself and his colleague, and having reason to think that Winram, the Vicar general, was favourable to reformed doctrine, he called on him to deal uprightly in an affair of such importance. 'The people (he said) ought not to be left in the dark. If his colleague or he had held any unscriptural tenet, he wished the Sub-prior, as Vicar-general, to expose it; but if, on the other hand, the doctrine taught by them was true, it was the bounden duty of that officer to give it the sanction of his authority.' Winram, replying that he did not appear there in a judicial character, proceeded to state some objections to one of the propositions maintained by Knox, 'that, in the worship of God, and especially in the administration of the Sacraments, the rule prescribed in the scriptures is to be observed without addition or diminution; and that the church has no right to devise religious ceremonies, and impose significations upon them.' After maintaining the argument for a short time, the sub-prior devolved it on a grey friar named Arbugkill, who, being hardly pressed by his antagonist, bringing proofs from the

epistles as well as other portions of the New Testament, had the rashness to assert, that the apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they wrote the epistles, but they afterwards received him and ordained ceremonies. Knox smiled at this extravagance, Winram rebuked it, and Arbugkill endeavoured to qualify it. At length he resolved all into the authority of the church. But Knox declared that the church could not contradict scriptural laws on the subject of divine worship. 'Why then,' said the impatient friar, 'you leave us no church at all!'—'O yes, I do,' replied the sarcastic reformer; 'there is the church of the malignants, which the Psalmist speaks of when he says, "I have hated the congregation of evil doers;" this church you may have without the word, and even contending against it. If you choose to belong to this church, I cannot help it: for my own part, I will be of no church but that which has Christ for its pastor, hears his voice, and will not hearken to the voice of a stranger.'

Orders were now issued that the learned men of the abbey and university should occupy the pulpit in the parish church by turns on Sundays, and abstain in their sermons from touching on the controverted points. Knox however had the privilege of preaching on other days, and he took occasion to praise God that Jesus Christ was preached, and nothing said publicly against the doctrine he had taught the people; requesting, that if in his absence, they should speak any thing which they forbore while he was present, the hearers would suspend their judgment, till an opportunity was afforded him to reply. He was so successful in his work, that the whole garrison in the castle, and many of the citizens, openly professed Protestantism, and

partook of the sacrament in the same manner as it was administered in the church of Scotland, after the Protestant religion was established by law, in the year 1560. It pleased God, in the course of his inscrutable providence, to terminate the able and zealous labours of his servant at St. Andrews after a few months. In the end of June 1547, a French fleet with a land force arriving to the assistance of of the Governor, the Castle was invested by sea and land, and surrendered on the last day of July, on condition that the lives of the besieged should be spared, that they should be conveyed to France, and from thence to any other country which they might prefer, except Scotland. They accordingly embarked, and in a few days reached Fescamps, and ascending the Seine anchored before Rouen, where the faithless French detained them as prisoners of war. Knox with some others was confined on board the galleys, bound with chains, and exposed to multiplied indignities.

From Rouen they sailed to Nantes, and lay on the Loire during the following winter. The Roman Catholic worship was often performed on board, and the prisoners required to show some reverence to it, on pain of torture; but nothing could induce them to depart from their principles. One day a fine painted image of the Virgin was brought into one of the galleys, and a Scotchman desired to kiss it. He refused, saying that such idols were accursed, and he would not touch it. 'But you shall,' replied an officer, thrusting it in his face; which provoked the prisoner to seize the puppet, and toss it into the river, saying, 'Let our Lady now save herself! She is light enough, let her learn to swim!' This conduct had the effect of preserving them from further importunities.

Knox was at first depressed in spirit, but found such relief in prayer, that he composed a work on this duty, to encourage others to its exercise. After some time, the galleys returning to Scotland, continued for a while on the east coast, watching for English vessels; and he was seized with a fever, during which his life was despaired of; but even in this state his fortitude of mind remained unsubdued, and he comforted his fellow-prisoners with hopes of release through a merciful Providence, who in all their trials would consult his own glory. While they lay on the coast between Dundee and St. Andrews, Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Balfour, pointed to the spires of the latter, and asked him if he knew the place. 'Yes? (replied the sickly and emaciated captive) I know it well; for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory; and *I am fully persuaded*, how weak soever I now appear that I shall not depart this life, till my tongue shall glorify his godly name in the same place.'

'While free from fever,' says Dr. M'Crie, 'he relieved the tedious hours of captivity, by committing to writing a confession of his faith, containing the substance of what he had taught at St. Andrews, with a particular account of the disputation which he had maintained in St. Leonard's Yards. This he found means to convey to his religious acquaintances in Scotland, accompanied with an earnest exhortation to persevere in the faith which they had professed, whatever persecutions they might suffer for its sake.'

The principal gentlemen in the number of the prisoners were confined in Rouen, Cherbourg, Brest, and Mont St. Michel. The unhappy captives of the latter inquired of their venerated countryman whether

it were lawful to attempt to escape by breaking their prison; a measure, which the more considerate disliked, lest the escape of some should only serve to increase the bitterness of the thraldom of others from their vindictive persecutors. He entered into the generosity of the feeling which prompted the inquiry, but gave it as his opinion that such a fear was not a sufficient reason for relinquishing the design, and that they might endeavour to escape, provided it were done without bloodshed. Encouraged by this decision, they made the attempt, and succeeded. Knox himself obtained his liberty in 1549, but in what manner is not sufficiently ascertained.

John Rough had left the castle of St. Andrews previous to the commencement of the siege, and retired to England. But though this good man, by an attention to his personal safety or convenience, escaped the horrors of a rigorous confinement with the rest of his countrymen at that trying season, yet he was destined to drink deeply of the cup of affliction for righteousness' sake. He preached the gospel in England until the death of Edward VI. when he went to Norden in Friesland. There he was obliged to support himself and his wife by knitting caps, stockings, &c. Having occasion to visit London on business, he became pastor to a little congregation which used to assemble privately in the city. But one of their number, with the spirit of a Judas or a Demas, revealed their place of meeting, and poor Rough was carried before Bishop Bonner, whose blood-thirsty vengeance could not be satisfied till he had condemned him to the flames, and he was executed on the 22nd of December 1557.

The favour shown to protestant doctrine in England during the minority of Edward VI. was a natural

inducement to Knox to repair thither immediately on his liberation. Cranmer, and the other friends to reformed tenets, had placed some able foreign divines as professors in the Universities, while they employed others in itinerating through different parts of the kingdom, where the clergy were most illiterate or disaffected to the Reformation, and where the inhabitants were most addicted to superstition. The fame of the zealous Scot had preceded his arrival in London, and it was not long ere the privy council sent him to preach at Berwick.

In 1550 a charge being exhibited against him before Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, he delivered at Newcastle an ample defence of his doctrine in the presence of that diocesan, the clergy of the cathedral, and some lay authorities, on the fourth of April.

'This day I do appear in your presence, honourable audience, to give a reason why so constantly I do affirm the mass to be, and at all times to have been, idolatry and abomination before God; and because men of great erudition in your audience affirmed the contrary, most gladly would I that here they were present, either in proper person, or else by their learned men to ponder and weigh the causes moving me thereto: for unless I evidently prove mine intent by God's holy scriptures, I will recant it as wicked doctrine, and confess myself most worthy of grievous punishment. How difficult it is to pull forth of the hearts of the people the thing wherein opinion of holiness standeth, declareth the great tumult and uproar moved against Paul by Demetrius and his fellows, who by idolatry got great vantage, as our priests have done by the mass in times past. The people, I say, hearing that the honour of their great goddess Diana stood in jeopardy,

with furious voices cried, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians;' and hereunto were they moved by long custom and false opinion. I know, that in the mass hath not only been esteemed great holiness and honouring of God, but also the ground and foundation of our religion: so that, in opinion of many, the mass taken away, there resteth no true worshipping nor honouring of God in the earth. The deeper hath it pierced the hearts of men, that it occupieth the place of the last and mystical supper of our Lord Jesus. But if I shall by plain and evident scriptures prove the mass, in her most honest garment, to have been idolatry before God, and blasphemous to the death and passion of Christ, and contrary to the supper of Jesus Christ; then good hope have I, honourable audience, and beloved brethren, that the fear, love, and obedience of God, who in his scriptures hath spoken all verity necessary for our salvation, shall move you to give place to the same. O Lord Eternal! move and govern my tongue to speak the verity, and the hearts of the people to understand and obey the same!

'We may not think ourselves so free or wise, that we may do unto God, and unto his honour, what we think expedient. No! The contrary is commanded by God, saying, "unto my word shall ye add nothing; nothing shall he diminish therefrom; that ye may observe the precepts of your Lord God." Which words are not to be understood of the Decalogue or Law moral only, but of statutes, rites, and ceremonies; for equal obedience of all his laws requireth God. And in witness thereof, Nadab and Abihu, offering strange fire, whereof God had given unto them no charge, were instantly as they offered punished to death by fire. In the punishment of these two aforesaid is

to be observed, that Nadab and Abihu were the principal priests next to Aaron their father, and that they were comprehended neither in adultery, covetousness, nor desire of worldly honour, but of a good zeal and simple intent making sacrifice, desiring no profit of the people thereby, but to honour God, and to mitigate his wrath. And yet in the doing of this self-same act and sacrifice were they consumed away with fire; whereof it is plain, that neither the pre-eminence of the person or man that maketh or setteth up any religion without the express commandment of God, nor yet the intent whereof he doeth the same, is accepted before God: for nothing in his religion will he admit without his own word, but all that is added thereto doth he abhor, and punisheth the inventors and doers thereof, as he have heard in Nadab and Abihu.—

'Jesus Christ saith, "I will lay upon you none other burden than I have already;" and "That which ye have, observe diligently." O God eternal! hast thou lain no other burden upon our backs than Jesus Christ laid by his word? Then who hath burdened us with all these ceremonies? prescribed fasting? compelled chastity, unlawful vows, invocation of saints, with the idolatry of the mass? The Devil, the Devil, brethren, invented all these burdens to depress imprudent men to perdition!'

The ability with which his defence was conducted seems to have hindered further prosecution. He continued his labours at Berwick during the remaining part of this year, and in the following was removed to Newcastle. In December 1551, the Privy Council appointed him one of King Edward's six chaplains in ordinary; of whom two were to be always present with the court, and four itinerating by turns, at an

annual salary of forty pounds each.[1] His indefatigable zeal in the propagation of a purer system of faith rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the more bigoted of the papists; and they soon discovered in their treatment of him, a spirit similar to that which actuated the opposers of the Gospel at its first promulgation, in attributing seditious motives to the exertions of its preachers. The northern papists rejoiced at the fall of the Protector Somerset, which occurred at this period, as he had used his authority in forwarding the work of reformation, and hoped for some advantage from the elevation of the Duke of Northumberland, whose intrigues had been instrumental in working his ruin. They had circulated certain prognostications as to the speedy demise of the King. Knox lamented in a memorable sermon preached at Newcastle on Christmas, 1552, the inveterate opposition of the Romanists to evangelic truth, and affirmed, that whosoever in his heart were an enemy to Christ's doctrine and gospel, which was then preached within the realm, was an enemy to God, and secret traitor also to the crown and commonwealth of England, and that, as such, thirsted after nothing more than the King's death, which their iniquities would procure; adding, that they regarded not who should reign over them, so that their Idolatry might be re-established. His enemies, aggravating his language with much artful malice, represented his discourse to some of the courtiers in such an odious light, that they accused him of high misdemeanours before the Privy Council, by whom he was summoned to repair immediately to London, and answer for his conduct. But after hearing his defence,

[1] Strype's Memorials of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 297.

they gave him an honourable acquittal, and employed him to preach before the court, where his sermons gave great satisfaction, particularly to his Majesty. It was also resolved that he should preach in the pulpits of the metropolis, as well as in those of the southern countries during the following year; but they allowed him to return for a short time to Newcastle, either that he might settle his affairs in the north, or that a public testimony might be borne to his innocence in the place where it had been attacked.

Notwithstanding the ascendency of Northumberland, the favour of the Sovereign and the good-will of the Council prevailed so far that he was offered the benefice of All-hallows, in Bread Street, London, which he refused from some conscientious scruples in regard to the Liturgy. There is good reason to conclude that at the same period he declined the acceptance of a Bishopric from a preference of presbyterian discipline. In the discharge of his duties as a preacher he was not less faithful at court than in the country. His last sermon before the King is on record as a testimony of this faithfulness. He preached on that occasion, from John xiii. 18. *He that eateth bread with me, hath lifted up his heel against me;* in the presence of Northumberland and his relation the Marquis of Winchester. It had been often seen, he said, that the most excellent and godly princes were surrounded with false and ungodly officers and counsellors. Having inquired into the reasons of this, and illustrated the fact from the scripture examples of Ahithophel under King David, Shebna under Hezekiah, and Judas under Jesus Christ, he added: 'What wonder is it, then, that a young and innocent king be deceived by crafty, covetous, wicked, and ungodly counsellors? I am greatly

afraid that Ahithophel be counsellor, that Judas beareth the purse, and that Shebna be scribe, comptroller, and treasurer.'

On the accession of Queen Mary in 1553, she promised the Protestants not to do violence to their consciences; and Knox, though, in common with other friends of the reformed cause, he was fully aware of the precariousness of such an assurance, yet exhorted the congregations before whom he preached to give no countenance to rebellious machinations, and prayed for the Queen by name. He itinerated into Buckinghamshire, and was heard with much avidity, especially at Amersham, while he earnestly exhorted the people to repentance under the tokens of divine displeasure, and to a steady adherence to the faith which they had embraced. He continued his labours in Buckinghamshire and Kent, from August till November, when he returned to the capital, where he resided chiefly with Mr. Locke and Mr. Hickman, two respectable merchants of his acquaintance.

He had been for some time engaged to a Miss Bowes, with whom he had become acquainted at Berwick; but though he had the concurrence of her mother, her father was averse to their union. His refusal arose partly from feelings of superior rank, as the young lady descended on both sides from baronets, and partly from disinclination to the reformed doctrines, which was more likely to increase than diminish by the political changes taking place on the new reign. A betrothment between them had not removed the coldness and disdain of Mr. Bowes, though he probably would have contributed to his support, had he acceded to the request of the two ladies to seek a settlement in Berwick or its vicinity.

on the stoppage of his salary, and the continuance of much bodily infirmity, occasioned principally by his rigorous confinement in France. Knox preferred, under all the circumstances, to retire to Newcastle. The Parliament had by this time repealed all the acts in favour of protestantism, restored the Roman Catholic forms, and ordained that all who observed the reformed worship after the 20th of December, should be exposed to the penalties denounced against heretics. He could not, however, prevail on himself to flee the kingdom, or desist from preaching. In the end of December, or the beginning of January 1554, his servant was seized, as he carried letters from him to his wife and mother-in-law, for so may the ladies be termed, and the letters were taken from him, in the hope of extracting some matter of accusation against the writer. As they contained merely religious exhortation, he was not alarmed at this adventure; but fearing some report connected with the capture might give uneasiness to his friends at Berwick, he set out on a visit to that place. Some of his wife's relations, however, persuaded that he was in imminent danger of liberty, if not of life, prevailed on him to relinquish his design of proceeding to Berwick, and to retire to the coast, from whence he might escape by sea. The apprehensions of his friends were but too well grounded; and, not hoping to elude the pursuit of his enemies, he procured a vessel, which landed him safely at Dieppe, on the 28th of January, 1554. The state of his mind under these trials may be judged by the following letters, addressed to Mrs. Bowes.

'The desire that I have to hear of your continuance with Christ Jesus, in the day of this his battle, which shortly shall end to the confusion of his proud enemies,

neither by tongue nor by pen can I express, beloved mother. Assuredly, it is such, that it vanquisheth and overcometh all remembrance and solicitude, which the flesh useth to take for feeding and defence of herself. For, in every realm and nation, God will stir up some one or other to minister those things that appertain to this wretched life; and if men will cease to do their office, yet will he send his ravens: so that in every place, perchance, I may find some fathers to my body. But, alas! where I shall find children to be begotten unto God by the word of life, that can I not presently consider; and therefore the spiritual life of such as sometime boldly professed Christ (God knoweth) is to my heart more dear than all the glory, riches, and honour in the earth; and the falling back of such men, as I hear daily, to turn back to that idol again, is to me more dolorous than, I trust, the corporal death shall be, whenever it shall come at God's appointment. Some will ask then, Why did I flee?- Assuredly, I cannot tell. But of one thing I am sure,—the fear of death was not the chief cause of my fleeing. I trust that one cause hath been, to let me see with my corporal eyes, that all had not a true heart to Christ Jesus, that in the day of rest and peace bare a fair face. But my fleeing is no matter: by God's grace I may come to battle before all the conflict be ended. And haste the time, O Lord! at thy good pleasure, that once again my tongue may yet praise thy holy name before the congregation, if it were but in the very hour of death.'—'I would not bow my knee before that most abominable idol for all the torments that earthly tyrants can devise, God so assisting me, as his Holy Spirit presently moveth me to write unfeignedly. And albeit that I have, in the beginning of this battle,

appeared to play the faint-hearted and feeble soldier, (the cause I remit to God) yet my prayer is, that I may be restored to the battle again. And blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I am not left so bare without comfort, but my hope is to obtain such mercy, that if a short end be not made of all my miseries by final death, (which to me were no small advantage) that yet, by Him who never despised the sobs of the sore afflicted, I shall be so encouraged to fight, that England and Scotland shall both know, that I am ready to suffer more than either poverty or exile, for the profession of that doctrine, and that heavenly religion, whereof it has pleased his merciful providence to make me among others a simple soldier and witness-bearer unto men. And therefore, mother, let no fear enter into your heart, as that I, escaping the furious rage of these ravening wolves, (that for our unthankfulness are lately loosed from their bands) do repent any thing of my former fervency. No, mother; for a few sermons by me to be made in England, my heart at this hour would be content to suffer more than nature were able to sustain; as by the grace of the most mighty and most merciful God, who only is the God of comfort and consolation through Christ Jesus, one day shall be known.'[1]

He left Dieppe after a month's sojourn, to travel through France towards Switzerland. He spent some time in the latter country, visiting different churches, and conferring with the more learned men and pious divines, from whom he received a kind entertainment. In the beginning of May he returned to Dieppe, to receive information from England, and heard with the

[1] MS. Letters, citat. apud M'Crie.

truest pleasure that all the endeavours of her husband had not availed to shake his mother-in-law from her adherence to the Protestant faith. Postponing, however, his return to England, he once more repaired to the Helvetic territory, and at Geneva experienced an affectionate welcome from Calvin, with whom he formed an intimate and lasting friendship. But he could not refrain from travelling back to Dieppe in July, to inform himself accurately of the situation of his persecuted brethren, and learned with much anguish of spirit that among those who had returned to the communion of the popish church, were many who had embraced religious truth under his own ministry, which induced him to compose his 'Admonition to England,' published about the end of this year. He went back again to Geneva, where he studied diligently, and particularly applied himself to the cultivation of Hebrew. A deputation from the English refugees at Frankfort on the Maine, waited on him with a letter inviting him to become one of their pastors, as they had obtained permission of the magistracy to perform religious service in a place of worship allotted to the French, on the condition of conforming as nearly as possible to the same mode. On his arrival however at Frankfort, he found much disunion of sentiment existing in the congregation, some preferring the English order of service as set forth under King Edward, and others desiring to adopt the regulations of the Genevan church. He endeavoured to mediate between the parties, and with some of the members drew up a summary of the Book of Common Prayer; and, having translated it into Latin, sent it to Calvin for his opinion and advice. The answer returned by that reformer had the effect of repressing the keenness of such as had urged the unlimited use of the Liturgy,

and a committee was appointed to draw up a form which might put an end to all differences. When this committee met, Knox told them that he was convinced it was necessary for one of the parties to relent, before they could come to an amicable settlement; and that he would therefore state what he judged most proper to be done, and having exonerated himself, would allow them, without opposition, to determine as they should answer to God and the church. They accordingly agreed upon a form of worship, in which some things were taken from the English Liturgy, and others added, which were thought suitable to their circumstances.

Tranquillity seemed to be thus restored, when the arrival of some more refugees, among whom was Dr. Cox, who had been preceptor to Edward VI. led to the renewal of disorder. These gentlemen, being more attached to the English form than their brethren, answered aloud after the minister in the time of divine service; and on the next Sunday abruptly commenced the reading of the litany. In the afternoon Knox in his lecture noticed the manner in which offences committed by professors of religion ought to be treated; mentioned that there were infirmities in their conduct over which a veil should be thrown; but remarked, that offences which openly dishonoured God, and disturbed the peace of the church, ought to be disclosed and publicly rebuked. He then adverted to the interruption which the good order of the assembly had experienced in the morning from the newly-arrived refugees, in a tone, which his own want of attachment to the government and ritual of the Church of England might appear to justify to his own mind, but which was sufficiently irritating to those who were accustomed to regard both

with reverential complacency, and who might have erred in the mode rather than in the principle of their action. Faults there may have been on both sides; but if one party considered strict adherence to the ecclesiastical ceremony and discipline of the English communion as sinful compliance, the other might be excused for regarding conformity to the French worship as sinful compromise. Dr. Cox and his friends being admitted to vote, as members of the congregation, obtained a majority of voices, and Knox was discharged from preaching, and from all interference in congregational affairs.

Some of the members represented these proceedings to the Senate of Frankfort, who, after in vain recommending a private accommodation, issued an order that exact conformity to the French practice should be observed, on pain of prohibition of further toleration. This extremity drove the supporters of Dr. Cox to unjustifiable measures. Two of them went privately to the magistrates, and accused Knox of *high treason* against the Emperor of Germany, his son Philip, and Queen Mary of England; putting into their hands a copy of his 'Admonition to England,' in which they pointed out the following passage as substantiating their charge, originally spoken to the inhabitants of Amersham in Buckinghamshire, on occasion of the rumoured marriage of Queen Mary with Philip: 'O England, England, if thou obstinately wilt return into Egypt, that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or league with such princes as do maintain and advance idolatry; such as the Emperor, who is no less enemy to Christ than ever was Nero: if for the pleasure of such princes thou return to thy old abominations before used under Papistry, then assuredly, O England, thou shalt

be plagued and brought to desolation, by the means of those whose favour thou seekest!'

The magistrates inquired of Whittingham, a respectable Englishman, the character of the accused, and were assured that he was 'a learned, grave, and godly man.' They were perplexed accordingly as to the course, which it became them to pursue; believing, on the one hand, that the charge was malicious; but fearing, on the other, that information would be conveyed to the Augsburg Council, and that they might be obliged to deliver him up to them, or to the English government. In this dilemma, they desired Whittingham to advise his friend to retire of his own accord from Frankfort. On the 25th of March, Knox addressed a valedictory discourse to about fifty members of the congregation, who assembled at his lodgings in the evening, and the next day left the city, attended for several miles by the same friends, who bade him farewell with many tears. He went directly to Geneva, where he was cordially welcomed back by Calvin. He desired, however, to return to his own country, as soon as a door was opened by Providence; and two causes seemed now to be reviving the interest of the Reformation—the elevation of the Queen Dowager to the regency of Scotland, and the accession of Mary to the throne of England. The former of these personages had, at an early period, made her court to the Protestants, whom Arran had alienated from him by persecution; and to induce them to favour her pretensions, had promised to defend them from the violence of the clergy. The latter, by her ill-advised union with the King of Spain, had pursued a course offensive to the Queen Regent, who was indissolubly attached to France; and the English Protestants who fled from

the cruelty of the Tudor, received protection from the policy of the Stuart. In the month of August, 1555, Knox set out from Geneva for Dieppe, where he took sail, and landing on the English border, repaired immediately to Berwick. After a while he paid a secret visit to the Protestants in Edinburgh, where he lodged with James Syme, a respectable burgess, to whose house a reformed flock hasted to receive instruction from their well-known countryman. He found that most of these persons continued to attend the celebration of the mass, from weakness of faith, dimness of light, or fear of persecution; and he endeavoured to convince them that this was no venial bowing in the house of Rimmon.

Erskine of Dun, one of his hearers, prevailed on him to accompany him to his family seat, in the shire of Angus, where he continued a month, preaching every day; and in the beginning of the following year was conducted by two other friends, Lockhart of Bar, and Campbell of Kineancleugh, to Kyle, the ancient receptacle of the Scottish Lollards; where he preached in the houses of Bar, Kineancleugh, Carneil, Ochiltree, and Gadgirth, and in the town of Ayr. He went also to Dun the second time, during which he preached more openly than before. A majority of the gentlemen of Mearns entered at this season into a solemn bond, in which they renounced the Popish communion, and engaged to maintain and promote the pure preaching of the gospel. These covenants were necessary, as measures of assurance and precaution; for though many of the nobility and gentry 'received the word with all readiness of mind,' the Protestants were still in circumstances of much peril from the

vindictive feelings of the clergy, and the bigoted sentiments of some laics in authority.

His preaching at Ayr was reported to the Court, and formed the topic of conversation in the presence of the Queen Regent. Some having affirmed that the preacher was an Englishman, a prelate replied, 'Nay, no Englishman; but it is Knox, that knave!' An application was made for his apprehension, which was discouraged by the Queen Regent; but he was summoned to appear before a convention of the clergy, in the church of Blackfriars in Edinburgh, on the fifteenth of May. Several gentlemen of distinction, among whom was the laird of Dun, resolving to stand by him, he determined to obey the summons. But the prosecution was dropped, upon some informality of the summons, as was pretended, when the ecclesiastics perceived such a considerable party appearing in his behalf. However, he went to Edinburgh on the day originally appointed, where he addressed a greater audience than ever he had done before; and even preached in the Bishop of Dunkeld's apartments, in the forenoon and afternoon, for ten days, 'no man forbidding him.' About this time, the Earl Marischal, at the desire of the Earl of Glencairn, attended one of his evening exhortations, and was so much pleased with the discourse, that he joined with Glencairn, in urging the preacher to write a letter to the Queen Regent, which they hoped might induce her to hear the Protestant doctrine, or at least tend to confirm her in favourable sentiments towards its preachers. He complied with their wish, and Glencairn himself delivered it to her majesty; but though it was composed with much care, and filled with matter calculated to

confirm the resolutions of one who was impressed with a conviction of the reigning evils in the church, or who, though not resolved in judgment as to the matters in controversy, was determined to preserve moderation between the contending parties; she merely glanced over it with a careless air, and gave it to the Archbishop of Glasgow, saying sarcastically, 'Please you, my Lord, to read a pasquil.'[1] This reception of his letter occasioned him to publish it, with additions, in 1558, at Geneva, to which he was induced to return, by an invitation from the English congregation in that city. His wife and mother-in-law resolved to attend him. He sent them before him to Dieppe, while he staid a little longer to bid farewell to his brethren in several places, and confirm them in the faith. Campbell of Kineancleugh conducted him to the Earl of Argyle, and he preached for some days in his house at Castle Campbell. In July, he quitted Scotland, and joining his wife and her mother at Dieppe, proceeded with them to Geneva.

No sooner did the clergy understand that he had departed, than they renewed the summons against him, which they had given up, when he was present to answer it; and, upon his non-appearance, passed sentence against him, adjudging his body to the flames, and his soul to damnation. They also caused his effigy to be burned at the cross of Edinburgh. Against this sentence he formed, and afterwards printed at Geneva, his 'Appellation from the cruel and most unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland; with his Supplication to the Nobility, Estates, and Commonalty of the said Realm.'

[1] Historie of the Reformation, by Knox, p. 425.

Knox discharged the office of minister to the English congregation at Geneva, conjointly with Mr. Christopher Goodman, for about two years, during which he experienced a tranquillity and domestic comfort to which he had hitherto been a stranger. Two sons were born to him in that city; his little flock were united among themselves, and attached to their minister; while he received marks of kindness and attention from Calvin and the other pastors. But in April 1557, Syme and Barron, two burgesses of Edinburgh, arrived with a letter and credence from the Earl of Glencairn, and Lords Lorn, Erskine, and James Stewart, informing him that the professors of the reformed doctrine remained stedfast, that its adversaries were daily losing credit in the nation, and that those who possessed the supreme authority, although they had not declared themselves friendly to it, still refrained from persecution; and inviting him, in their own name, and in that of their brethren, to return to Scotland, where he would find them all ready to receive him, and to spend their lives and fortunes in advancing the cause which they had espoused.[1]

After consultation with his friends, and the appointment of a successor, he went to Dieppe in October, where he received letters from Scotland, mentioning some changes in the Protestant measures, and irresolution among the principal leaders. He instantly wrote to the noblemen who had invited his return, pathetically remonstrating on the timidity and inconstancy of their conduct, faithfully reminding them of their responsibility at that trying season, and forcibly representing the distressed situation in which he was himself thus

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 97, 98

unexpectedly placed. As his immediate return to his native land was prevented, he aimed at usefulness during his indefinite sojourn in the French territory. It seems to have been at this period that he preached a very animated sermon at Rochelle, in which he expressed his conviction that he should declare the same truths in St. Giles's, in Edinburgh, within a few years. Some Scotch papists heard with much bitterness this expression of his sentiments; but it happened some time afterwards, that these very people going back to Scotland, and through stress of weather likely to perish, remembered his discourse, and with some feeling of compunction vowed, that if God would preserve them, they would renounce popery; which they did; and saw and heard the Reformer preach openly in the kirk of Edinburgh, according to his own presentiment. At Dieppe he officiated in a reformed church with acceptance; but receiving very unfavourable accounts from his own country, actually returned once more to Geneva, in the beginning of the year 1558, where he became engaged with some learned persons in his congregations in a new translation of the Bible into English. This has been known by the name of *The Geneva Bible*.

He published also a 'Letter to the Queen Regent,' and an 'Appellation and Exhortation;' both of which were transmitted to Scotland, and contributed not a little to the spread of the reformed opinions. He sent out in the same year that work which had been so much associated with his name in historical recollections, entitled 'The first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment (government) of Women.' He was provoked to the composition of this work from an apprehension of the evils which might accrue to the

cause of religion from the characters of the two royal Maries, from the alliance of the former with the Dauphin of France, and from the ambition or tyranny of the latter. Under this apprehension he wrote in a style, which was originally strong, and which in moderate ears sounds coarse. 'To promote (he said) a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire, above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and finally, it is a subversion of all equity and justice.' He argues, that nature intended the female sex for subjection, not superiority to the male; that the divine law, announced at the creation of the first pair, had expressly assigned to man the dominion over woman; that female government was not permitted among the Jews; that it is contrary to apostolical injunctions; and that it leads to the perversion of government and other pernicious consequences. This exposed him to the resentment of the two Queens, while it was approved by certain divines; but as the English crown descended to Elizabeth, he had the prudence to desist from blowing another blast. In a letter to secretary Cecil dated April 10, 1559, he says: 'It is reported that my book is, or shall be written against. If so be, sir, I greatly fear, that flatterers shall rather hurt than help the matter, which they would seem to maintain; for except my error be plainly shown and confuted by better authority, than by such laws as from year to year may and do change, I dare not promise silence in so weighty a business, lest in so doing I should appear to betray the verity, which is not subject to the mutability of the time. And if any think me either enemy to the person, or yet to the regiment, of her

whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived of me. For the miraculous work of God comforting his afflicted by an infirm vessel I do acknowledge, and the power of his most potent hand (raising up whom best pleaseth his mercy, to suppress such as fight against his glory) I will obey, albeit, that both nature and God's most perfect ordinance repugn to such regiment: more plainly to speak, if Queen Elizabeth shall confess, that the extraordinary dispensation of God's great mercy, maketh lawful unto her, which both nature and God's law doth deny unto all women; then shall none in England be more willing to maintain her lawful authority than I shall be; but if (God's wondrous work set aside) she ground (as God forbid) the justness of her title, upon consuetude, laws, or ordinances of men, then I am assured, that as such foolish presumption doth highly offend God's supreme majesty, so do I greatly fear that her ingratitude shall not long want punishment. And this in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Jesus Christ (before whom both you and I shall stand to make account of all counsel we give) I require you to signify unto her grace in my name: adding, that only humility and dejection of herself before God shall be the firmness and stability of her throne, which I know shall be assaulted more ways than one.' To the Queen herself he also wrote in similar language: 'If thus in God's presence you humble yourself, as in my heart I glorify God for that rest granted to his afflicted flock within England, under you a weak instrument; so will I, with tongue and pen justify your authority and regiment, as the Holy Ghost hath justified the same in Deborah, that blessed mother in Israel. But if the premises (as God forbid) neglected, you shall begin to

brag of your birth, and to build your authority and regiment upon your own law, (flatter you who so list) your felicity shall be short.'

Dr. John Aylmer, an exile at Strasburg, (formerly archdeacon of Stowe, and preceptor to Lady Jane Grey, and afterwards raised to the see of London) answered Knox anonymously in a tract, called 'An Harborough for faithful and true Subjects, against the late blown Blast concerning the government of women; wherein are confuted all such reasons, as a stranger of late made in that behalf, with an exhortation to obedience.' Strype, in his life of Aylmer, gives a summary of the controversy, which was conducted with great decorum on the part of the Englishman, who was convinced of the sincerity of his opponent.[1]

In consequence of the appeal made by the Reformer to the Scotch protestant Lords, they entered into a solemn bond of mutual assistance on the third of December 1557, to the following effect in modernized language.

'We, perceiving how Satan in his members, the antichrists of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to throw down and to destroy the gospel of Christ and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our master's cause, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in him: The which our duty, being well considered, we do promise before the majesty of God and his congregation, that we by his grace shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God and his congregation: And shall labour at our

[1] Life of Aylmer, p. 238.

possibility to have faithful ministers, purely and truly to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof with our whole power and wearing of our lives, against Satan and all wicked power that doth intend tyranny or trouble against the aforesaid congregation. Unto the which word and congregation we do join us; and also do renounce and forsake the congregation of Satan with all the superstitions, abominations, and idolatry thereof. And moreover shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto by this our faithful promise before God, testified to his congregation, by our subscription to these presents.

'At Edinburgh the third day of December, 1557. God called to witness. *Sic subscribitur.*

A. Earl of ARGYLE,
GLENCAIRN,
MORTON,
ARCHIBALD, Lord of Lorn,
JOHN ERSKINE of Dun. &c.

This instrument led to their being styled 'lords of the Congregation.' They formed two resolutions for regulating their conduct as to divine worship; by which it was agreed, in the first place, that they should rest content with requiring for the present that prayers, and the lessons of the Old and New Testament, should be read in English, according to the book of Common Prayer in every parish, on Sundays and Festivals, by the curates of the respective parishes, or, if they were unable or unwilling, by such persons within the bounds as were best qualified: and secondly, that the reformed preachers should teach in private houses only, till the government should allow them to preach in

public. The archbishop of St. Andrews endeavoured to prevent the operation of these measures by exhorting the nobility and gentry to discountenance such clergymen as acceded to the new regulations, and treated with sanguinary violence an individual, named Walter Mill, parish-priest of Lunan in Angus, who 'having been condemned as a heretic in the time of Cardinal Beatoun, had escaped from execution, and continued to preach, sometimes in private, and at other times openly, in different quarters of the kingdom. Being lately discovered by one of the archbishop's spies, he was brought to trial at St. Andrew's. He appeared before the court so worn out with age, and the hardships which he had endured, that it was not expected he would be able to answer the questions which might be put to him; but to the surprize of all, he conducted his defence with great spirit. Such was the compassion excited by his appearance, and the horror which was now felt at the punishment to which he was doomed, that the clergy, after pronouncing him guilty, could not procure a secular judge to pass sentence of death upon him; and the archbishop was at last obliged to employ a worthless servant of his own to perform this odious task. On the 28th of August, 1558, Mill expired amidst the flames, uttering these words: 'As for me, I am fourscore and two years old, and cannot live long by course of nature; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones. I trust in God, I shall be the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause.'[1]

In January, 1559, Knox left Geneva finally; but did not take his wife and family with him till he could

[1] M'Crie, vol. i. p. 235.

ascertain that they might safely enter Scotland. He went to Dieppe, and determined in April to return to his native country; but having a strong desire in his way thither to visit those in England, to whom he had formerly preached the Gospel; and also to give information of a conspiracy, (by which the princes of Lorraine, brothers of the Queen Regent, had induced the French court to form a plan of setting up the claim of Mary to the English crown, and wresting the sceptre from Elizabeth, as illegitimate and heretical; commencing their operations by suppressing the reformation and establishing the French influence in Scotland, as the best preparative to an attack upon the dominions of the English Queen) he wrote to Secretary Cecil, for leave to that purpose. Despairing, however, of success, or urged by intelligence received from Scotland, he sailed from Dieppe on the 22nd of April, and landed safely at Leith on the 2nd of May.

He found matters hastening to a crisis between the two religious parties. An ecclesiastical council, sanctioned by the Queen Regent, was persecuting the protestant divines by every means in its power; and they were prohibited from preaching or administering the sacraments without authority from the bishops, while the people at large were required to keep the ensuing Easter according to the rites of the Romish persuasion. The recusants were summoned to answer for their disobedience. The Earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudun, waited on the Regent with a remonstrance; but she replied haughtily, that, 'in spite of them, all their preachers should be banished from Scotland;' on which they informed her, that if she violated the engagements which she had come under to her subjects, they would consider themselves

as absolved from their allegiance. On the morning after the Reformer's arrival, the council were panic-struck with the intelligence; and within a few days he was proclaimed an outlaw and a rebel, in virtue of the sentence formerly pronounced against him by the clergy. He went to Dundee, where he found the principal protestants determined to attend their ministers to their trial at Stirling; they desisted, however, on an assurance from the Regent that the trial should be countermanded; but she afterward outlawed them for not appearing, and all persons were prohibited, under pain of rebellion, from harbouring or assisting them. News of this tyrannical proceeding reached Perth after a sermon against popery, which Knox had been preaching, and a tumult occurred among the common people, who demolished some conventual buildings. The Regent magnified this accidental effervescence into a premeditated insurrection, and advanced against the city with a hostile force of eight thousand men. The protestants disclaimed all rebellious intentions; but finding all overtures useless, they prepared to defend the town with a nearly equal force, on which the Regent offered terms of accommodation, which he readily accepted, exclaiming, 'Cursed be they that seek effusion of blood, war, or dissension. Let us possess Christ Jesus, and the benefit of his gospel, and none within Scotland shall be more obedient subjects than we shall be.'[1] No sooner, however, had she obtained possession of the place, and the forces of the protestants were disbanded, than she violated the agreement; on which the prior of St. Andrew's and the young Earl of Argyle deserted her court in disgust. These

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 137.

noblemen gave Knox a meeting at St. Andrew's to consult on the measures proper to be pursued, so as to unite if possible their firmness as protestants with their loyalty as subjects. The archbishop declared, that if Knox offered to appear in the pulpit of the cathedral, he would order some soldiers to fire upon him. His friends advised him not to risque his life under such circumstances; but the intrepid Reformer was determined to discharge what he believed his duty. 'As for the fear of danger, that may come to me, let no man be solicitous; for my life is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek. I desire the hand nor weapon of no man to defend me, I only crave audience; which, if it be denied here unto me at this time, I must seek where I may have it.'

The next day he preached to a numerous assembly of laity and clergy, without interruption, on Christ driving the buyers and sellers out of the temple. He discoursed also in the same place for three days more; and such was the effect, that the burgesses took away the images and pictures out of the church, pulled down the monastries, and set up the reformed worship. This example was followed at Crail, Cupar, Lindores, Stirling, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh.

Knox entered the latter city with the troops of the Congregation at the end of June, preaching the same day at St. Giles's, and the next in the Abbey. On the 7th of July, the principal citizens met in the Tolbooth, and chose him for their minister. Meanwhile the Regent lay at Dunbar with her French army, neglecting no means to disunite the lords of the Congregation, till watching her opportunity, she advanced suddenly on Edinburgh. Her army consisted of five thousand men; but though the Congregation could not muster

more than fifteen hundred, they resolved to oppose her entrance: the inhabitants of Leith, however, opened their gates, and Lord Erskine, who commanded the Castle, threatening to fire upon them, they were forced to conclude a treaty, by which they agreed to leave Edinburgh. They stipulated, nevertheless, that the citizens should be left at liberty to use that form of worship which was most acceptable to them. Knox would have remained at his post; but the nobles advised him to retire, and give place to Willock, a faithful but less obnoxious minister. He therefore undertook a preaching tour; and in less than two months proclaimed the pure doctrine of the Gospel at some principal places over the greater part of Scotland, ending at St. Andrew's. 'Thus far (says he in a letter from St. Andrews, June 23) hath God advanced the glory of his dear Son among us. O that my heart could be thankful for the super-excellent benefit of my God! The long thirst of my wretched heart is satisfied in abundance, that is, above my expectation; for now forty days and more hath God used my tongue in my native country, to the manifestation of his glory. Whatsoever now shall follow as touching my own carcase, his holy name be praised. The thirst of the poor people, as well as of the nobility, here is wondrous great; which putteth me in comfort, that Christ Jesus shall triumph here in the north and extreme parts of the earth for a space.' In another letter, dated Sept. 2, he observes, 'Time to me is so precious that with great difficulty can I steal one hour in eight days, either to satisfy myself, or to gratify my friends. I have been in continual travel since the day of appointment; (or agreement between the Regent and the Congregation) and notwithstanding the fevers have

vexed me, yet have I travelled through the most part of the realm, where (all praise to his blessed majesty!) men of all sorts and conditions embrace the truth. Enemies we have many, by reason of the Frenchmen who lately arrived, of whom our papists hope golden hills. As we be not able to resist, we do nothing but go about Jericho, blowing with trumpets, as God giveth strength, hoping victory by his power alone.'

Soon after his arrival in Scotland, he wrote for his wife and family, whom he had left behind him at Geneva. On the 13th of June, Mrs. Knox and her mother were at Paris, and applied to Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, the English ambassador, who gave them a passport to England, and also wrote to Queen Elizabeth and Cecil, recommending oblivion of his offensive publication, and kind treatment of his wife. The arrival of his family was the more gratifying, as they were accompanied by Christopher Goodman, his late colleague at Geneva, who became minister of Ayr, and was afterwards translated to St. Andrews.

The Protestants being obliged to apply to England for assistance, Knox opened a correspondence with Cecil, and a message was at length sent to him, desiring him to meet Sir Henry Percy at Alnwick, and Cecil himself came down to Stamford for the sake of a personal interview; but his journey being retarded by the danger of passing near the French at Dunbar, he was afterwards deputed, with Robert Hamilton another minister, to wait on Sir James Croft, the governor of Berwick, who undertook to manage their business for them, and advised them to return home. Cecil sent an answer to the Lords of the Congregation conceived in such general terms, that they were disinclined to further negociation; but Knox obtained permission

to write again to the Secretary, who returned a speedy answer, desiring that some persons of credit might be appointed to confer with the English at Berwick, and assuring them that immediate pecuniary assistance would be afforded. Balnaves, a man well respected in both kingdoms, was sent to Berwick, who soon returned with a sum of money, which defrayed the public expense till November; when Cockburne of Ormiston was despatched for a second remittance, but he fell into the hands of Earl Bothwell, who took the money from him.

Knox was indefatigable in his service to the Congregation, and a reward was publicly offered to any one who should seize or kill him; but this did not deter him from travelling and preaching. He was at length called to share in a delicate and important measure. When the Lords first appealed to arms, they had no intention of making any alteration in the government; but finding that the Regent was fully bent on executing her schemes, they deliberated, on a principle of pure patriotism, on the expediency of opposing her administration. They inquired, if the same parliamentary authority which had appointed her Majesty to the Regency, might not deprive her of it? A numerous assembly of nobles, barons, and representatives of boroughs met at Edinburgh on the 21st of October, to which Knox and Willock were called; the latter declared it to be his judgment, founded on scripture and reason, that she might be deprived; but the former went more at large into the question, stating: First, that they did not suffer the misconduct of the Regent to alienate their affections from due alegiance to their sovereigns: second, that they were not actuated in the measure by private hatred or envy of the Queen

Dowager, but by regard to the safety of the commonwealth: and third, that any sentence which they might at that time pronounce should not preclude her readmission to office, if eligible. They then suspended her from her office, till the meeting of a free parliament, and elected a council for the management of public affairs during the interval. When the council had occasion to treat of matters connected with religion, four of the ministers were appointed to assist in their deliberations. These were Knox, Willock, Goodman, and Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway, who had embraced the Reformation. The troops of the Congregation were soon after repulsed in a premature assault upon the fortifications of Leith, and worsted in a skirmish with the French, when they came to the resolution of abandoning Edinburgh, and retreated to Stirling. The next day the Reformer addressed them in a manner calculated to revive their spirits.

'Their faces,' he said, 'were confounded, their enemies triumphed, their hearts had quaked for fear, and still remained oppressed with sorrow and shame. What was the cause for which God had thus dejected them? The situation of their affairs required plain language, and he would use it. In the present distressed state of their minds, they were in danger of attributing these misfortunes to a wrong cause, and of imagining that they had offended in taking the sword of self-defence into their hands; just as the tribes of Israel did, when twice discomfitted in the war which they undertook, by divine direction, against their brethren the Benjamites.' Having divided the Congregation into two classes, those who had been embarked in this cause from the beginning, and those who had lately acceded to it, he proceeded to point out

what he considered as blamable in the conduct of each. The former (he said) had laid aside that humility and dependance upon Divine Providence which they had discovered when their number was small; and since they were joined by the Hamiltons, had become elated, secure, and self-confident. 'But wherein' (alluding to the former Regent, now Duke of Chatelheraut, who with his son, the Earl of Arran, had become disgusted with the princes of Lorraine, and had united with the Congregation) 'have my Lord Duke and his friends offended? I am uncertain if my Lord's Grace hath unfeignedly repented of his assistance to these murderers, unjustly pursuing us. Yea, I am uncertain if he has repented of that innocent blood of Christ's blessed martyrs, which was shed in his default. But let it be that so he has done, as I hear that he has confessed his fault before the Lords and brethren of the Congregation; yet I am assured that neither he, nor yet his friends did feel before this time, the anguish and grief of heart which *we* felt, when in their blind fury they pursued us. And therefore God hath justly permitted both them and us to fall into this fearful confusion at once; *us*, for that we put our trust and confidence in man, and *them*, because they should feel in their own hearts how bitter was the cup which they made others drink before them.' After exhorting all to amendment of life, prayer, and works of charity, he said, 'God often suffered the wicked to triumph for a while, and exposed his chosen congregation to mockery, danger, and apparent destruction, in order to abase their self-confidence, and induce them to look to Him for deliverance and victory. If they turned unfeignedly to the Eternal, he no more doubted that their present distress would be converted into joy, and followed by

success, than he doubted that Israel was finally victorious over the Benjamites, after being twice repulsed with ignominy. The cause in which they were engaged would, in spite of all opposition, prevail in Scotland. It was the eternal truth of the eternal God which they maintained; it might be oppressed for a time, but would ultimately triumph.'

In the afternoon the council met, and after Knox had supplicated divine direction, agreed to send William Maitland of Lethington to London for more effectual assistance; and in the mean time, that one half of them should remain at Glasgow, and the other at St. Andrews, Knox being appointed chaplain and secretary to the latter. The disaster which obliged the protestant army to raise the siege of Leith, and evacuate Edinburgh, induced the English court to abandon its cautious policy. Maitland's embassy was successful; and on the 27th of February 1560, Elizabeth concluded a formal treaty with the Lords of the Congregation, by which she engaged to send an army into Scotland, to assist them in expelling the French forces. The Queen Regent then hastened two thousand French foot, and three hundred horse, to disperse the troops at Glasgow under Chatelheraut, before the English could arrive. The Duke retiring, they reduced the episcopal castle, and prepared to advance to Hamilton; but hearing of the approach of the English, returned to Leith, where they were invested both by sea and land by the joint forces of Elizabeth and the Congregation. The Queen Regent, in a declining state of health, was received by Lord Erskine into the castle of Edinburgh, where she soon after departed this life. In France, the husband of Mary had succeeded to the throne, by the title of Francis II. and the administration

had fallen into the hands of the Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine, who when they saw Elizabeth assisting the Scotch in earnest, the armament which they had prepared dispersed by a storm, and some of the French nobility displeased at their measures, sent plenipotentiaries to Edinburgh, who concluded a treaty with the English, by which the Scottish differences were also adjusted; an amnesty was to be granted to all who had been engaged in the late resistance to the Regent, a free parliament held, and a council chosen partly by Francis and Mary, and partly by the the estates of the nation. The treaty was signed on the 7th of July; on the 16th the French embarked, and the English began their return; and on the 19th, the Congregation assembled in St. Giles's church, and gave thanks for the restoration of peace.

When the parliament met, many lords attached to popery absented themselves. A petition was presented by a number of protestants, in which, after rehearsing their former endeavours at reformation, they besought that the popish doctrine should be discarded, means used to restore pure worship, and primitive discipline, and the great ecclesiastical revenues applied to the promotion of learning and relief of the poor. In answer to the first demand the ministers were required to draw up a summary of the doctrine which they desired to have established, who accordingly presented a Confession of Faith, agreeing with the other reformed churches. When this came before the house, the only temporal lords who dissented were Athol, Somerville, and Borthwick, while the prelates of St. Andrews, Dunblane, and Dunkeld, were silent, and the parliament voted the establishment of the reformed religion.

In 1560, Knox, assisted by four ministers, named Winram, Spotswood, Douglas, and Row, was engaged in drawing up a Confession of Faith, and Book of Discipline. The latter, though approved of by the clergy in the General Assembly, had to encounter opposition from some of the nobles in the Privy Council, principally on account of its demand of certain sacrifices on their part for the promotion of national education. It was proposed that the office-bearers of the church should consist of *ministers* or *pastors*, to whom the preaching of the gospel and administration of the sacraments should belong—of *doctors* or *teachers*, who were to interpret scripture, and give theological lectures —of *ruling elders*, who were to assist ministers in ecclesiastical government—and of *deacons*, who should manage the revenues. Readers and exhorters were also to be appointed from among the laity in different parts of the country; and a few clergymen, as superintendents, were to be authorized to travel over particular districts for the purpose of preaching, planting churches, and inspecting the conduct of ministers, exhorters, and readers. Pastors were to be elected by the people, examined by ministers, and publicly admitted. The affairs of each congregation were to be managed by the ministers, elders, and deacons; and there were to be weekly meetings of the ministers and exhorters in every considerable town; provincial synods, consisting of superintendent, ministers, and delegated elders, twice in the year; and a general assembly of ministers and elders commissioned from all parts, meeting twice or thrice in the year, to attend to the interests of the national church. On sabbath days the people assembled twice for public worship; a sermon was preached in the morning, and a catechetical lecture given in the

afternoon; baptism was dispensed with a suitable address; the Lord's Supper administered four times a year in towns; the sign of the cross in the former, and genuflexion at the latter, disused; and anniversary holy-days wholly abolished.

The compilers of the Book of Discipline moreover proposed that the patrimony of the church should be appropriated in the first instance, to the support of the new ecclesiastical establishment; under which head were included, the ministry, the schools, and the poor. The stipends of ministers were to be collected by the deacons from the tithes; but all illegal exactions were to be previously abolished, and measures taken to relieve the labourers of the ground from the oppressive manner in which the tithes had been gathered by the clergy, or by those to whom they had farmed them. The revenues of the bishoprics, cathedrals, collegiate churches, and monasteries, were to be given to the support of parochial schools, municipal seminaries, or churches within their respective limits. That this scheme should be disrelished by such nobles as had either seized on the church lands, or had retained tithes in their own hands, or had taken long leases of them from the clergy for small considerations, is not matter of surprize.

The first General Assembly of the reformed Church of Scotland met at Edinburgh on the 20th of December. It consisted of forty members, only six of whom were ministers, Knox being of the number; and its deliberations were conducted with great order, though without a formal moderator. The attendance of members afterwards increasing, and business becoming more complicated, it was resolved that a moderator should be chosen at every meeting, and John Willock, Super-

intendent of Glasgow and the West, was the first who discharged that office in 1563.

At the close of the year, our reformer was called to resign his valued partner, who left him with two young children; and though his mother-in-law continued her residence in his family, her dejection of mind required on his part an affectionate but painful sympathy. To private distress was added much anxiety on the state of public affairs. Queen Mary, and her husband the King of France, had refused to ratify the late treaty, and had dismissed the deputy sent by the Parliament. A new army was preparing in France for the invasion of Scotland; the hope of the Roman catholic party was excited; and the further assistance of the English problematical. The death of Francis, however, averted the immediate danger of assault from foreign violence; but it was rather the veering of the wind, than the subsidence of the tempest, in the political atmosphere. An invitation was sent by the protestant nobility to the young Queen, who, on the 19th of August, 1561, arrived in Scotland, and took the reins of government into her own hands. Beautiful and accomplished, accustomed to French adulation, and bigoted to the Romish faith; inexperienced in affairs, but impatient of controul; this youthful sovereign entered on a situation which promised little satisfactory result, from the different character of the scenes in which she was about to move, and of the subjects over whom she was to rule, whose simple manners, grave demeanour, and disputatious habits, were strongly contrasted to the gaiety, levity, and pliability of their Gallic neighbours. She directed preparations to be made for the celebration of a solemn mass in Holyrood on the first Sunday after her arrival, which gave such offence, that there would have been a

tumult among the populace, had not some leading men among the protestants interfered. Knox was zealous in recommending peaceful conduct to the citizens; but at the same time would not conceal his just apprehensions, observing that 'one mass was more fearful to him, than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm, on purpose to suppress the holy religion.'[1]

Mary sent for Knox, and held a long conversation with him in the presence of her brother, the prior of St. Andrew's. She accused him of raising her subjects against her mother and herself; of writing a book against her just authority; of being the cause of sedition and bloodshed when he was in England; and of accomplishing his purposes by *magical arts*. He replied, that if to teach the truth of God in sincerity, to rebuke idolatry and exhort men to scriptural modes of worship, were to preach sedition, he must plead guilty: but if the true knowledge of God, and his right worship, were the most powerful inducements to subjects cordially to obey their princes, then was he innocent. As to the effect of his preaching in England, he was thankful nothing had been laid to his charge, but what the world knew to be false; and as to his practice of magic, he could the more easily bear this black charge, when he recollected that his master had been called Beelzebub.—'You think I have no just authority?' said the Queen. 'Please your Majesty,' he replied, 'learned men in all ages have had their judgments free. Plato wrote his treatise *On the Commonwealth*, condemning many things maintained in the world, and urging reform, without disturbing the peace

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 284—287.

of the government under which he lived. Even so, Madam, am I content to do, in uprightness of heart, and with the testimony of a good conscience.' 'Pray, Master Knox, is it not acting contrary to divine command, which enjoins subjects to obey their rulers, to instruct them to receive a religion different from that of those rulers?' 'Madam, true religion comes not from princes, but from God; princes are often ignorant on this grand topic, and subjects are not bound to frame their creeds according to the arbitrary will of their rulers; otherwise the Hebrews ought to have conformed to the religion of Pharaoh, Daniel to that of Nebuchadnezzar, and the primitive Christians to that of the Roman emperors.' 'Yea, but none of these men raised the sword against their princes.' 'Your Grace cannot deny, however, that they resisted: for those who obey not the commandment given them do in some sort resist.' 'But, I say, they resisted not with the sword.' 'God, Madam, had not given them the power and the means.' 'Think you, that subjects, having the power, may resist?' 'Doubtless, Madam, if princes exceed their bounds. For no greater obedience is to be given to kings, than God hath enjoined to be given to parents. But a father may be struck with a frenzy, in which he might seek to slay his children; and if the children rise together and take the sword from him, bind his hands, and keep him in prison till the fit is over, would they do wrong?' Her Majesty was confounded at this reply, and was observed to change colour. After a while, she renewed the conversation, by remarking, 'Well, then, I perceive that my subjects are to obey *you*, and not *me*, and to do what they please, and not what I command; and so I must be subject to *them*, and not they to *me!*' 'God forbid!' said Knox, 'that ever I should take it

upon myself to command any to obey me, or to set subjects at liberty to do as they please: no; my endeavour is, that both princes and subjects should obey God. And think not, Madam, that wrong is done you, when you are required to be subject unto God; for it is he who puts people under rulers, and causes obedience to be rendered them. And this subjection unto God and his church, required of kings as foster-fathers, and queens as nursing-mothers of his people, is the greatest dignity they can enjoy on earth, for it will raise them to heaven!' 'But you are not the church,' she answered, 'that I choose to nourish: I will defend the church of Rome; for I believe it to be the true church of God.' 'Your will, Madam,' he replied, 'is no reason; neither doth your opinion make the Roman harlot to be the chaste spouse of Christ. Wonder not, that I call Rome a harlot, for she is altogether polluted with all kinds of spiritual fornication, both in doctrine and manners. She has in fact more declined from the apostolic religion, than the Jewish church had degenerated from the ordinances of the Law, when she crucified Christ.' 'That is not my conscience,' she rejoined. 'Conscience, Madam,' he observed, 'requires knowledge; and right knowledge I fear you have none.' 'But I have both heard and read.' 'So, Madam, did the Jews, who crucified Christ Jesus. Have you heard any teach, but such as the pope and cardinals have allowed? Rest assured, they will say nothing against their own interest.' 'You interpret Scripture in one way,' said the Queen, 'and they in another: whom shall I believe, and who shall be judge?' 'You are to believe God, who plainly speaketh in his word,' answered the Reformer; 'and farther than the word teacheth, you are to believe neither the one nor the other.' He was

then proceeding to show that the pretended sacrifice of the mass was anti-scriptural, when she interrupted him by declaring her inability to contend with him, but her persuasion of the competency of others to answer him, if the were present. 'Madam, would to God, that the most learned papist in Europe, and whom you would be most inclined to believe, were present to sustain the argument, and that you would hear the matter reasoned to the end!' 'Well, perhaps you may have that wish gratified sooner than you expect.' 'Yea, Madam, I shall get it sooner than I expect, if I get it at all; for the ignorant papist cannot patiently reason, and the learned one will be too crafty to come into your audience, Madam, to have the ground of their religion searched out.' The hour of her Majesty's dinner arriving, she withdrew, after Knox had taken leave, saying, 'I pray God, Madam, that you may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland, as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel!'

Such is the substance of the conversation between them; and the interview itself, under all its circumstances, is one of the most curious in modern history. Mary was so much mortified that she could not refrain from tears; and Knox left her with the impression, that she was obstinately bigoted to the Romish superstition. She was much annoyed at the sessions of the General Assembly; and her courtiers began to question the propriety of such conventions without her pleasure. The Reformer was next employed in vindicating the right of holding ecclesiastical assemblies, and the claim of ministers to an adequate provision. He was also engaged in reconciling feuds, and composing variances of a civil nature, in this season of dispute and mutual apprehension.

In May, 1562, the Queen gave a ball to her foreign servants, in consequence of intelligence from France, that her uncles were regaining their influence, and exercising fresh violences against the protestants. Knox on the following Sabbath observed in his sermon, that 'princes were often more given to music and dancing, than to reading and hearing the word of God; and delighted more in fiddlers and flatterers, than in wise men who would give them good counsel. As to dancing, although he did not find it praised in scripture, and profane writers had termed it a gesture more becoming mad than sober men, yet he would not utterly condemn it; provided, first, that persons did not neglect the duties of their station by indulging in it, and secondly, that they did not dance like the Philistines, from joy at the misfortune of God's people. If they were guilty of these, their mirth would soon be converted into sorrow.' Next day he was ordered into the presence of Mary, who received him surrounded by her maids of honour and principal counsellors, and accused him in a long speech of having treated her with disrespect, and in a manner calculated to lower her in the eyes of the public. Undaunted by the appearance of her court, the sturdy preacher replied, that she had been treated as persons usually were who refused to attend the preaching of the word of God; but if, instead of listening to the reports of flatterers, she had heard his discourse, she would not perhaps have been offended. He hoped therefore she would be pleased to hear him repeat what he had said. He then recapitulated his discourse, and called on those who had witnessed its delivery to attest the truth of his statement. The Queen, after turning round to the informers who were dumb, told him, that his words, though sharp enough,

had been misrepresented. She added, that she was well aware of the difference in religious sentiment between her uncles and himself, and therefore did not blame him for any animadversions as far as they were concerned; but if he heard any thing about her conduct which displeased him, he should come to herself privately. Knox saw through her drift, and observed that he was willing to do any thing for her majesty's contentment, which was consistent with his office; if her grace chose to attend the public sermons she would have an opportunity of knowing what pleased or displeased him in her and in others; or if she would appoint a time to hear what he had said, he would most gladly attend her grace; but to be merely allowed the liberty of whispering in her ear what people thought and said of her, that would neither his conscience nor his office permit him to do. 'For, albeit at your grace's command, I am here now, yet I cannot tell what others may think of me, who at this time of day am absent from my book, and waiting upon the court.' 'You will not always be at your book,' said Mary, turning her back on the uncourtly theologian.

The Roman Catholics, envious of the power possesed by the protestants in the cabinet, and conscious that their young sovereign was secretly on their side, resorted in the autumn of 1562 to open hostility. The Earl of Huntly took up arms in the north, while the archbishop of St. Andrews endeavoured to rouse the papists of the south. Knox made use of all his influence with the nobility and gentry to keep them firm to the cause of protestantism in this trying state of affairs, and the south was preserved in peace, while the vigorous measures of the council crushed the rebellion in the north.

A champion now appeared for the Romish faith in the person of Quintin Kennedy, uncle to the Earl of Cassilis, and abbot of Crossraguel. He disputed with our reformer for three days on the subject of the mass at the village of Maybole in Carrick, and the result of the argumentation was, as usual, misrepresented by the papists. Another priest, named Ninian Wingate sent likewise to Knox a writing, consisting of eighty-three questions on the principal points at issue; to some of which, particularly such as related to the call of protestant ministers, he returned answers in his public discourses. In May 1563, the Queen summoned him to Lochlevin, wishing to avail herself of his influence in dissuading the protestant gentry of the west from disturbing the Romish worship. He told her Majesty, that if she would exert her authority in executing the laws of the land, he could promise for the peaceable behaviour of the protestants; but if she thought to elude them, he feared there were some who would let the papists understand that they should not offend with impunity. 'Will ye allow, that they shall take *my* sword in their hands?' asked Mary. 'The sword of justice is *God's*,' answered Knox, 'and is given to princes and rulers for one end, which, if they transgress, sparing the wicked and oppressing the innocent, they who, in the fear of God, execute judgment where he has commanded, offend not God, although kings do it not.' The Queen broke off the interview in displeasure, but required his attendance again in the neighbourhood of Kinross, where she took the amusement of hawking, on which occasion she treated him with great familiarity; telling him that lord Ruthven had been very particular in his attentions to her, but that she was not partial to him; recommending

him not to promote the election of the late archbishop of Glasgow to the superintendance of Dumfries; and requesting his interference, *for her sake*, in a conjugal difference between the Earl and Countess of Argyle. With respect to this extraordinary conduct on the part of the gay young Queen to the grave reformer, it has been generally considered as a specimen of refined artifice; for as she had in the first instance failed to overawe him, she now seemed bent on trying the effect of flattery and condescension. The royal beauty had to make her experiment on a rough and unmanageable subject, and one who could not but be personally offensive to her, on account of his presbyterian prejudices in ecclesiastical and democratic bias in political matters, as well as his mode of communicating his sentiments, which with all allowance for the comparative barbarism of the age, and the regard for the interests of divine truth, impartiality must confess to have been occasionally disrespectful and irritating.

In the beginning of the Queen's first parliament, in May 1563, Knox endeavoured to excite the Earl of Murray to appear with zeal and courage, to get the articles of Leith established by law; but finding him cooler than he expected, there followed a breach between them, which continued for a year and a half. When the bill was rejected, he preached before many members of the parliament on the subject, expressing his apprehension of the consequences, accusing them of unfaithfulness and ingratitude to God, who had delivered their countrymen from such bondage of soul and body; and adverting to the report that the Queen intended to re-enter into the marriage-state, declared his conviction that the most serious evils might be expected if the nobility consented to her union with a Roman Catholic.

Mary ordered him into her presence. 'Was ever prince treated as I have been? I have borne with all your speeches against myself and my uncles; I have shown you kindness; and yet I cannot be quit of you! I vow to God I shall be once revenged.' This vent of passion was succeeded by a flood of tears. Knox replied with more calmness than was usual to him, that he trusted when she was freed from the bondage of error, his liberty of speech would not offend her. Out of the pulpit, he believed, few had occasion to be offended with him; but *there* he was bound to obey Him who commanded him to speak plainly, and to flatter no flesh on the face of the earth. 'But what have you to do with my marriage? Or what are *you* in this commonwealth?' 'A subject born within the same, madam; and albeit I be neither earl, lord, nor baron in it, yet has God made me (how abject that ever I be in your eyes) a profitable member within the same. Yea, madam, to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any of the nobility; for both my vocation and conscience require plainness of me. And therefore madam, to yourself I say that which I spake in public place. Whensoever the nobility of this realm shall consent that ye be subject to an unfaithful husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish his truth from them, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance shall in the end do small comfort to yourself.' Mary sobbed aloud with fresh mortification. Erskine of Dun, superintendent of Angus, endeavoured to soothe her, but the reformer betraying no emotion, she directed him to leave her presence, and wait her pleasure in the antichamber. It was soon signified that he might go home, while her

counsellors advised her to abandon the idea of a prosecution.

Two protestants being indicted for having with others broken into Holyrood, and interrupted the Queen's household at mass, when she was at Stirling, Knox by request of the protestants of Edinburgh sent a *circular* to some principal gentlemen to desire their attendance on the day of trial. The bishop of Ross conveyed a copy to Mary, who communicated it to the privy council, by whom it was pronounced treasonable, and summoned him before them. When the Queen had taken her seat, and perceived him standing uncovered at the foot of the table, she burst into a fit of laughter. 'This man,' said she 'has made me weep, and shed never a tear himself: I will now see if I can make him weep.' He was commanded to read the circular, which he did, and then handed it to the Queen's advocate. 'My Lord's,' asked her Majesty, 'did you ever hear a more despiteful and treasonable letter?' 'Mr. Knox,' said Maitland the Secretary, 'are you not sorry from your heart, that you have written it, and that others know its contents.' 'My Lord,' said Knox, 'before I repent, I must be taught my offence.' 'You have endeavoured to raise an unlawful convocation of the Queen's lieges.' 'I have often offended in like sort before.' 'Yea, but the times are very different now.' 'The time that has been is even now,' replied the reformer; 'for I see the poor flock in no less danger than it has been, except that *the Devil has got a vizor upon his face*. Before, he came in with his own face, discovered by open tyranny, seeking the destruction of all who refused idolatry; and then you will confess the brethren lawfully assembled to defend their lives; and now the devil

comes under the cloak of justice, to do that which God would not suffer him to do by strength.'—'What is this?' cried Mary; 'Methinks you trifle with him. Who gave him authority to assemble my subjects? Is not that treason?' 'No, madam,' answered Lord Ruthven, 'for he makes convocation of the people almost daily to hear prayer and sermon.' 'Hold your peace,' said the Queen, 'and let him answer for himself.' 'I began, madam,' resumed Knox, 'to argue with the secretary (whom I take to be a better dialectitian than your Grace) that all convocations are not unlawful, and now my Lord Ruthven has given an instance.' 'I will say nothing against your religion, nor against your collecting people for worship; but what right have you to assemble my subjects without my order?'

'If the want of your grace's orders,' observed he, 'makes such assembly unlawful, almost all that has been done respecting the reformation of religion is liable to the same charge.' 'You shall not escape so,' said the Queen. 'Is it not treason, my Lords, to accuse a prince of *cruelty*?' 'But wherein can I be accused of this?' 'Read this part of your own letter—"This fearful summons is directed against them (the two persons indicted) to make no doubt a preparative on a few, that a door may be opened to excite cruelty upon a greater multitude." Lo! what say you to this?' 'I will first inquire of your Grace, whether you know not, that the obstinate papists are deadly enemies to all who profess the gospel, and that they most earnestly desire their extermination?' 'God forbid!' exclaimed the Lords, 'that ever the lives of the faithful, or the hindrance of the word, should be in the power of the papists, for experience hath taught us the cruelty

of their hearts!' 'Seeing then,' continued the accused, 'that it was barbarous to destroy such a multitude as profess the gospel, which oftener than once or twice they have attempted to do by force, they, by God and his providence, being disappointed, have subtilly made the sovereign a party under cover of law. For who supposes, that the insatiable cruelty of the papists shall end in the murder of these two brethren, now unjustly summoned, and more unjustly to be accused? But, madam, I accuse not in my letter, your Grace, nor yet your nature, of cruelty. I affirm, however, that the pestilent papists, who have inflamed your Grace against these poor men at this present, are the children of the devil, and therefore must obey the desires of their father, who has been a liar and a murderer from the beginning.' 'You forget yourself,' said the chancellor, 'you are not now in the pulpit.' 'I am in the place where I am demanded of conscience to speak the truth; and therefore the truth I speak, impugn it whoso list.'

When the accused had withdrawn, and her majesty had left the council, almost all the members voted him innocent. The secretary, enraged at this decision, brought back the Queen, and required the votes a second time; which attempt to overawe them gave no small offence, so that they repeated their votes, with approbation of his demeanour and apology. Mary was so much displeased with the bishop of Ross, the informer, for agreeing with the majority, that forgetting her own dignity, she called him 'an old fool' before all the council.

The ensuing year, Lord Darnley, being married to the Queen, was advised by the Protestant courtiers to hear Knox preach, with a view to gratify the people;

but he was so indignant at the discourse, that he complained to the Council, who immediately ordered Knox before them, and forbade him to preach for several days. His text was from Isaiah xxvi. 13—17. *O Lord, our God, other lords than thou have reigned over us*, &c. He spoke of the government of wicked sovereigns as a judicial scourge, and observed 'that God sets in that room (for the offences and ingratitude of the people) boys and women.' He mentioned also, 'that God punished Ahab, because he did not correct his idolatrous wife, Jezebel.' Darnley's father Lennox, Athol, and Rizzio, a low-bred Italian, ruling the court, the protestant nobility became more and more dissatisfied; and Mary, raising a force against them, compelled them to take refuge in England. All her policy was now directed to the re-establishment of popery; her husband and his partizans openly professed Roman Catholicism; she signed the French Catholic League for the extirpation of the reformed; and restored the popish ecclesiastics to their place in Parliament. But Darnley, entering into a secret engagement with some of the protestant nobles, her measures were thwarted, and Rizzio assassinated; while the popish counsellors fled, and the exiled nobles returned. Mary, retiring to Dunbar, prevailed on her husband to disown his engagement, and mustering some regiments, returned to Edinburgh to wreck vengeance upon the disaffected. Our Reformer deemed it prudent at this crisis to leave the capital and go to Kyle, whence by permission of the General Assembly he went to England to visit his two sons who were residing with their mother's relations. The assembly limited his abode in England to their next general meeting, and gave him a letter to the episcopal bench, requesting

lenity in its conduct towards such ministers as scrupled to use the sacerdotal habit. At what period he returned to his charge is uncertain, but he was present in the General Assembly in June 1567, and in July he preached at Stirling church a sermon, at the coronation of King James, which is much commended in Buchanan's History of Scotland. Darnley being murdered, Mary resolved to marry Bothwell, a ferocious character, who was supposed to have been his destroyer. Craig, the colleague of Knox, on whom the whole ministration devolved in his absence, reluctantly complied to publish the banns, but protested from the pulpit against the marriage as unlawful and scandalous, as he believed Bothwell to have attained his end by the slaughter of Darnley and seizure of the Queen's person. These events were followed by Mary's abdication, the coronation of her infant son, and the appointment of the Earl of Murray to the regency. He preached again at the opening of the Parliament on the fifteenth of December, exhorting them to begin with the affairs of religion, and they accordingly ratified all the acts which had been passed in 1560 in favour of the reformation.

The Regent was the friend of the Reformer, and under his auspices the cause of true religion prospered. But the queen escaped from her confinement in Lochlevin castle on the 2d of May 1568, and being defeated by Murray, fled into England; on which her disappointed partizans determined to cut off the Regent by secret means, and he was shot by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. The loss of this excellent person filled Knox with pungent sorrow. In 1571, the Hamiltons and others entered into a conspiracy against Lennox, who succeeded to the regency, and began to fortify Edinburgh. While they were thus employed, a council

was held by them in the castle, when Kircaldy of Grange, governor of the fortress, proposed to give security for the person of Knox; but the Hamiltons answered, that they could not promise him security, because he had many enemies, who might do him harm without their knowledge. Upon this answer, Mr. Craig and other friends besought him to quit the town. He went accordingly to Abotshall in Fife, and thence to St. Andrews, where he remained till August in 1572. That year there was a convention of ministers at Leith, where it was agreed that a certain kind of episcopacy should be introduced into the church. The courtiers had acquired most of the episcopal revenues, and it is supposed that to secure a better title to these rents, they desired the re-establishment of the higher dignitaries who might receive a small part to themselves, and regularly make over the principal portion to the lay-patrons. Among the rest, the archbishopric of St. Andrews coming to the share of the Earl of Morton, that noble designed Mr. John Douglas, rector of the university, to be elected to that see. The electors accordingly fixed on him, after some opposition; but Knox was displeased with the whole proceeding; and the next Sunday, being to officiate in the forenoon in the presence of Morton, he not only peremptorily refused to inaugurate the bishop elect, but publicly denounced an anathema against both the donor and receiver of the see. Notwithstanding this refusal Mr. Douglas was admitted according to the form used for the admission of superintendants. As some of the divines reported that his opposition arose from disappointment because the dignity had not been conferred on himself, he took occasion to declare from the pulpit, 'I have refused a far greater bishopric than

St. Andrews, which I might have had by the favour of greater men than the patrons of Douglas. What I have said on the affair has been for the discharge of my conscience, desirous as I am that the Kirk of Scotland should not be subject to episcopal government.' He probably referred to an offer of an English see from Edward VI.

The troubles of Scotland being much abated, and the people of Edinburgh, who had been obliged to leave their dwellings being returned, two gentlemen were deputed to wait on Knox, inviting his return. After perusing the letter of invitation, he agreed to return, on condition, that he should not be desired to keep silence respecting the conduct of those who held the castle; and this stipulation he requested the deputies to convey to their principals; but these gentlemen assured him that no restraint would be laid on him in this or any other particular. He left St. Andrews, August 17th, and arrived at Leith on the twenty-third. Upon the last day of that month he preached in the great Kirk; but his voice was become so weak, through paralytic infirmity, that he asked for a place, in which less exertion would be necessary, and his request was immediately complied with. A Mr. Lawson, subprincipal of the King's College at Aberdeen, was appointed over the old congregation in the room of Craig, with whom they were dissatisfied on account of his more moderate political sentiments. The Tolbooth was allotted to Knox, in which he continued his ministration, as long as his strength would permit; but his health was further impaired by intelligence of the massacre of the Parisian Protestants. His spirit mourned over the suffering of the reformed cause in

general, and over many of his acquaintance who had fallen in particular; and being conveyed to the pulpit, the venerable man summoned the residue of his strength, as with glistening eye and solemn tone, he uttered an awful denunciation against the sanguinary sovereign Charles IX. 'Sentence is pronounced in Scotland against that cruel murderer and false traitor the King of France! The vengeance of God shall never depart from him or his house; but his name shall remain an execration to posterity; and none that come out of his loins shall enjoy that kingdom in peace, unless repentance prevent the judgment of the Almighty!' The French ambassador, who at Knox's request was informed of the prophetic woe thus publicly pronounced, complained of the indignity to the Regent, and required that the preacher should be silenced, which demand was refused, and he immediately quitted the realm.

On Tuesday, the eleventh of November, 1572, he was seized with a severe cough, which greatly affected his breathing. On the Thursday he was obliged to desist from his daily practice of reading scripture; but directed his second wife, Margaret Stewart (a daughter of Lord Ochiltree, who had brought him three female children) and Bannatyne, a pious servant, to read to him every day the 17th of St. John's gospel, the 53d of Isaiah, and a chapter of the Ephesians. He was visited in his sickness by the ministers, and chief nobles, among whom was Morton, afterwards viceroy, to whom he addressed edifying instructions on their respective duties. A religious lady desired him to praise God for the good he had done, and was beginning to commend him, when he interrupted her. 'Tongue! Tongue! Lady, flesh of itself is over-proud, and needs

no means to esteem itself.' He reminded her of some former advice, exhorting her to lay aside pride, and be clothed with humility. On Friday the 21st, he ordered his coffin to be prepared, and said, 'Come, Lord Jesus. Sweet Jesus, into thy hand I commend my spirit. Be merciful, Lord, to thy church which thou hast redeemed. Give peace to this afflicted commonwealth. Raise up faithful pastors who may take care of thy church, and grant that we may learn, as well from the blessings as chastisements of thy providence, to abhor sin, and cleave to thee with full purpose of heart.' Being asked, whether he felt much pain? he replied, 'I cannot call that *pain*, which brings on the end of mortality and trouble, and is the beginning of life. To thee, Lord, do I commit myself. Thou knowest how intense my pains are, but I do not complain. Yea, Lord, if such be thy will, I could be content to bear this suffering for many years: only do thou continue to enlighten my mind through Christ Jesus!'

At three o'clock in the afternoon of Monday the 24th, one of his eyes failed, and his speech faltered. He desired his wife to read the 15th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. 'Is not that,' said he, 'a comfortable chapter? O what sweet and salutary consolation the Lord hath afforded me from that chapter!—Now, for the last time, I commend my soul, spirit, and body, (touching three fingers as he spoke) into thy hand, O Lord!'—At about five o'clock he said to Mrs. Knox, 'Go, read where I cast my first anchor;' upon which she read the 17th of St. John's Gospel, and afterward a part of Calvin's sermons on the Ephesians. He lay still, but moaned at intervals, and said, on being asked the cause, 'I have sustained many contests with Satan; but now that roaring lion

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hath put forth all his strength to make an end of me at once. He has often placed my sins before me to tempt me to despair, but could not prevail. Now he has attacked me in a different way: the cunning serpent would persuade me that I have merited heaven by the faithful discharge of my ministry; but I have vanquished him by such passages as these: What hast thou, thou hast not received? By the grace of God I am what I am:' &c. About eleven, he sighed deeply, and said, 'Now it is come.' Bannatyne desired him to think on those promises which he had so often declared to others; and perceiving that he was speechless, requested him to give them a sign that he heard them, and died in peace. Upon this he lifted up one of his hands, and sighing twice, expired without a struggle.

On Wednesday the 26th he was interred in the churchyard of St. Giles. His funeral was attended by Morton, the newly-elected Regent, by all the nobility who were in the city, and a great concourse of people. When his body was lain in the grave, the Regent emphatically pronounced his eulogium in the well-known words, 'There lies one, who never feared the face of man!'

Latimer.

The apostle Paul laboured abundantly for the conversion of the Gentiles, but his heart's desire and prayer to God was for the salvation of the Jews. Of kindred feeling, though of subordinate character, is the peculiar interest we feel in the progress of religion among our own countrymen, but which is quite compatible with the most enlarged desire of the spread of the gospel in distant lands; and the biographies of those godly men who laid the foundations of our own church, and into whose labours we have providentially entered, must and ought to be regarded with particular attention, however curiosity, as a merely natural feeling, may be excited by the accounts of foreign Reformers.

So long as the English church continues to hold the form of sound words, will the memory of Hugh Latimer be reverenced. This eminent divine was descended of mean but honest parents at Thurcaston, near Mount Sorrel, in Leicestershire, where his father was a respectable farmer, who by industry and frugality brought up in a decent manner his only son and six daughters, on means, of which the bare mention relaxes into a smile the lips of the modern reader. In one of his court sermons, in the reign of Edward VI. inveighing against the nobility and gentry for their want of sympathy with their inferiors, and contrasting

the state of the little farmers and peasantry some time before with their present necessities, he tells the audience, in his familiar manner, that upon a farm of *four pounds* a year, his father tilled as much land as would support six labourers; that he had stocked it with a hundred sheep and thirty cows; that he found the king a man and horse, himself remembering to have buckled on his father's harness when he went to Blackheath; that he gave his daughters five pounds each on their marriage, that he lived hospitably among his neighbours, and was not backward in his alms to the poor! 'And all this he did of the said farm. Whereas he who now hath it pays sixteen pounds by the year or more, and is not able to do any thing for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor.' This is a curious piece of incidental statistics, drawn from the discourses of a Worcester prelate, who was not however a political preacher, but a faithful *interpreter* of the divine word.[1]

He was born in 1470, and being sent to the grammar-school, made such proficiency, that he was early designed for an ecclesiastic. In his fifteenth year he was entered at Christ's College, Cambridge, where at the usual time he took his degrees in arts, and as soon as he was ordained, distinguished himself by his opposition to the reformed doctrines, which began to be entertained by certain members of the university. He was sincere and devout, though too much of the light that was in him was darkness; and while he highly valued the material symbol of salvation, or the silver cross which it was his office to carry in procession, he

[1] Camden says that Latimer signifies an interpreter between the English and Welch. [Britannia, p. 508.]—It is most probable that the Bishop's ancestors were vassals of the ancient barons of Latimer.

had but an imperfect notion of the exceeding preciousness of the true cross, or of the real nature of that which every believer is called to bear.'[1]

He was so indignant at the Reformers, that he seldom lost an opportunity of inveighing against them. He even held them in such horror, that he thought they were the supporters of that Antichrist, whose appearance was to precede the coming of the Son of Man, and conjectured that the day of judgment was at hand. 'Impiety (he said) was gaining ground apace; and what lengths may not men be expected to run, when they begin to question even the infallibility of the Pope?'—If any enlightened theologians read lectures in the schools, and particularly Stafford, a divinity-lecturer who inclined much to protestantism, Latimer, in the excess of his zeal to hinder the increase of heterodoxy, did all in his power to prevent the students from attending. When he commenced Bachelor in Divinity, he employed his public exercise in refuting the positions of Melancthon, whom he treated with great severity, 'for his impious innovations (as he termed them) in religion.' This was so late as the year 1515, when he was forty-five; and he afterwards alluded to the circumstance, in his warm manner, in his first sermon before the Dutchess of Suffolk. 'Master Bilney, or rather *Saint* Bilney, that suffered death for God's word's sake, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God: for I was as obstinate a papist as any was in England; insomuch, that when I should be

[1] Warner's Eccl. Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 380.—Fox, Acts and Mon. vol. ii. p. 211. et seq.

made Bachelor of Divinity, my whole oration went against Philip Melancthon, and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterwards in my study, and desired me, for God's sake, to hear his confession. I did so; and I learned more than afore in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsake the school-doctors and such fooleries.'

It was not however till several years after this remarkable interview with Bilney, who as fellow of Trinity Hall, had frequent opportunity of edifying other clergymen by his conversation, that Hugh Latimer became so well acquainted with evangelical truth, as to be able to develope in their beautiful proportions the different doctrines of the grace of God. He then became as zealous a Protestant, as he had been a Romanist. His discourses had a character of their own. They abounded with striking anecdote, acute remark, and fearless application, while he allowed himself considerable latitude in wandering from his text. He was assiduous in private exhortation, and wherever he went, pressed the necessity of faith and holiness, in opposition to those outward performances, which were then esteemed the very essentials of religion. A behaviour of this kind was immediately taken notice of; Cambridge watched with jealousy every approximation of her sons to those theological statements, which had originally sprouted in England, and after being transplanted to Germany, had been brought back with improved fibre; and Latimer soon found himself surrounded with enemies. The first important opposition he experienced was occasioned by a course of sermons preached before the University during the Christmas

holidays, in which he spoke his sentiments with great freedom on the usages of the Romish church, and particularly reprobated the custom of locking up the scriptures from the common people. Into the writings of the Old and New Testament he himself made diligent search, that he might be furnished with scriptural arguments against the prevailing corruptions; knowing that a simple declaration from the word of God was superior to mere scholastic argument, and preferring as a spiritual champion to visit God's armoury when he wanted a new weapon, rather than 'go down to sharpen his coulter or his mattock at the forges of the Philistines.' He protested against the abominable custom of saying mass in an unknown tongue, and contended for the inalienable right of the laity, and even the illiterate, to have the Bible printed in their own language, and put into their hands.

In 1527, this extraordinary man preached a sermon on cards, from the question of the priests to the Baptist, "Who art thou?" These words were part of the gospel appointed for the day, and he suited his address rather to the season than the text; for it was the Sunday before Christmas, and he declaimed on the frivolities and abuses which marked that sacred festival.[1] His popularity as a preacher still increasing, Dr. Buckingham, prior of the black friars, undertook to oppose him in the pulpit, and with much pomp and prolixity, showed the dangerous tendency of his opinions; and particularly laid open the ill effects which would ensue

[1] He made the hearts TRUMPS, observing that the smallest in the suit would take up the best card in the pack, though it were the king of clubs; meaning, that the humblest worshipper in heart would be more acceptable to God, than the most costly and dignified votary of papal superstition, or the most zealous of the self-righteous.

if his proposal were acceded to, of translating the scriptures into English for general distribution. 'If that heresy prevail, we shall soon see an end of every thing useful among us. The ploughman, reading that if he put his hand to the plough, and should happen to look back, he would be unfit for the kingdom of God, would soon lay aside his labour! The baker likewise, reading that a little leaven will corrupt his lump, would give us very insipid bread! The simple man also, finding himself commanded to pluck out his eyes, in a few years we should have the nation full of blind beggars!!!' Latimer could not but smile at this ingenious reasoning; which would appear to be a libel on the sixteenth century, had we not witnessed some arguments, too much assimilated in spirit, used in the nineteenth by warm controversialists. He promised however to reply to this solemn trifling on the following Sabbath; and this announcement caused the university church to be crowded. Just before the sermon began, the prior entered with his cowl about his shoulders, and took his seat with an air of importance in front of the pulpit. Latimer, with great gravity, recapitulated the learned doctor's arguments, placed them in the strongest light, and then rallied them with so much genuine wit and pleasantry, as to make his adversary appear highly ridiculous. He then, with great address, appealed to the people; noticed the low esteem in which their spiritual guides affected to hold their understandings; and repelling the unworthy insinuations, wished his honest countrymen might only have the use of the scripture, till they showed themselves such absurd interpreters as the prior had represented. He concluded with some useful remarks on scripture metaphors. 'A figurative manner of speech is com-

mon to all languages. Images of this kind are in daily use, and generally understood. For instance,' said he, addressing himself to that part of the audience where the prior was seated, 'when we see a fox painted in a friar's hood, nobody imagines that a fox is meant, but that craft and hypocrisy are described, which are so often found disguised in that garb!' The congregation could not refrain from laughter at this attack on the *old fox*, which though a scriptural comparison, was yet used too much in the manner of caricature for the sacredness of the pulpit; and the preacher himself appears to have feared hazarding the experiment of such ludicrous images a second time; for when a certain Venetian, not long after, opposed him on the same subject and in a most scurrilous manner, we find him using a graver strain. But whether he ridiculed or reasoned, his arguments seldom failed of producing an effect. His raillery shut up friar Buckingham within his monastery, and his reasoning drove the friar from the university.

The principal supporters of the old superstitions applied to Dr. West, bishop of Ely, as their diocesan to prevent him from broaching heresy from Cambridge pulpits; but he was a prelate of moderate character, and declined any premature interference. He came to Cambridge however, examined the state of religion, and at the request of these theologians preached against heretical doctrine. He was at length induced to silence Mr. Latimer; but as there was a monastery of Austin-friars which was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, whose principal Dr. Barnes was attached to protestant tenets, he was admitted to preach in the chapel of that foundation; and the late opposition having excited

the curiosity of the people, they attended in great numbers.

The bishop also, as we are informed by Strype, 'hearing of Mr. Latimer's conversion, determined with himself to come and hear him preach, but that it should be sudden and without any intelligence to be given to Latimer. And so it came to pass, that on a time when Mr. L. had prepared to preach in the university a sermon *ad clerum* in Latin, the bishop hearing thereof, came secretly and suddenly from Ely, and entered into the university church, accompanied with certain men of worship (Latimer being then well entered into his sermon); whose approach being honourable, L. gave place and ceased from further speaking, until the bishop and his retinue were quietly placed. That done, after a good pause, L. beginneth to speak to his auditory after this sort.' 'It is of consequence meet (quoth he) that a new auditory, namely, being more honourable, requireth a new theme, being a new argument to intreat of. Therefore it behoveth me now to divert from mine intended purpose, and somewhat to intreat of the honourable estate of a bishop. Therefore, let this be the theme (quoth he): *Christ being come a high priest of good things to come,*' &c. This text he so fruitfully handled, expounding every word, and setting forth the office of Christ so sincerely, as the true and perfect pattern unto all other bishops, that should succeed him in his church, that the bishop then present might well think of himself that he, nor none of his fellows, were of that race of bishops which Christ meant to have succeed in his church after him; but rather of the fellowship of Caiaphas and Annas.

This notwithstanding, the bishop, being a very wise

and politic worldly man, after the sermon finished, called to Mr. Latimer, and said, 'Mr. L. I heartily thank you for your good sermon, assuring you, that if you will do one thing at my request, I will kneel down and kiss your foot, for the good admonition that I have received of your sermon; assuring you, that I never heard mine office so well and substantially declared before this time.' 'What is your Lordship's pleasure that I should do for you?' quoth Mr. Latimer. 'Marry,' quoth the bishop, 'that you will preach me in this place one sermon against Martin Luther and his doctrine.' Said then Mr. L. again, 'My Lord, I am not acquainted with the doctrine of Luther, nor are we permitted here to read his works. And therefore it were but a vain thing for me to refute his doctrine, not understanding what he hath written, nor what opinions he holdeth. Sure I am, (quoth L.) that I have preached before you this day no *man's* doctrine, but only the doctrine of God out of the Scriptures. And if Luther do none otherwise than I have done, there needeth no confutation of his doctrine. Otherwise, when I understand he doth teach against the Scripture, I will be ready with all my heart to confound his doctrine, as much as lieth in me.' 'Well, well, Mr. Latimer, I perceive that you somewhat smell of the pan. You will repent this gear one day!' And so the bishop, never a whit amended by the sermon, practised with Mr. Latimer's foes from that day forwards to put him to silence.'[1]

The credit to the protestant cause which the preacher had thus gained in the pulpit, he maintained by a holy life out of it. With his friend Bilney he went about

[1] Eccles. Memor. V. 3. p. 233.

doing good; adorning his profession by works of mercy and charity, visiting the prisoners, feeding the hungry, and relieving the distressed. There was an eminence near the town in which they were accustomed to walk, and enjoy fraternal intercourse, which obtained from this circumstance the nick-name of Heretics-hill.[1]

Their persecutors now appealed to the higher authorities of the state. They complained at court of the increase of heretical sentiments, and lodged formal depositions against particular individuals. The principal persons concerned in ecclesiastical affairs were Cardinal Wolsey, Warham archbishop of Canterbury, and Tonstall bishop of London; and as Henry the eighth was applying for a divorce at Rome, and careful of giving umbrage to the Pope, there appeared little ground to expect merciful or impartial conduct towards those, who were prominent in their support of the reformed doctrines. Wolsey erected a court, consisting of divines and canonists, to put the laws against heresy in force. Of this court Tonstall was made president; and Bilney, Latimer, and some others, were called before them. Bilney was regarded as chief instigator of the offensive proceedings on the banks of the Cam, and it was judged expedient to use every endeavour to shake him in his profession, or make him an example of punishment. They demanded, 'Whether he had not publicly and privately taught the opinions of Luther, or of any other, condemned by the church?' He answered that 'Wittingly he had not preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any other, contrary to the catholic church.' This guarded reply availed

[1] Fuller's hist. of Cambridge. p. 103.

him little. After many interrogatories, Wolsey insisted on his making oath that he would answer plainly to the articles and errors set forth by him in different places, against a certain time. He was subsequently examined by the Bishop of London, who exhorted him to abjure and recant. But he answered, 'That he would stand to his conscience, and let justice and judgment be done in the name of the Lord.' Then the Bishop, taking off his cap, said, 'In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen. Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered!' and making the sign of the cross, he read part of the sentence, reserving the remainder for the next day, to see if he would recant. He refused abjuration however for some time longer; till wearied with the importunities of his judges, and the intreaties of his friends, he was persuaded to recant on the seventh of December, 1529. By way of penance for his heretical lapse, as it was called, he was remanded to prison, till the Cardinal should be pleased to order his discharge; but was directed to lead a procession, next day, to St. Paul's, bare-headed, with a faggot upon his shoulder, and hear a sermon delivered at the Cross. The court, having attained its end with the principal offender, dismissed Latimer and the others on milder terms.

Their friends at Cambridge received them with open arms and cordial congratulations. Bilney blushed at these congratulations, and became the subject of melancholy and remorse. Latimer, in a sermon preached in Lincolnshire, says, 'When Mr. Bilney came again to Cambridge, for a whole year after, he was in such an anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other communication of God's word; for he thought that all the whole scrip-

tures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation. So that I many a time communed with him, (for I was familiarly acquainted with him); but all things, whatsoever any man could allege to his comfort, seemed to him to make against him. Yet, for all that, afterward he came again; God endued him with such strength and perfectness of faith, that he not only confessed his faith in the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but also suffered his body to be burned for that same gospel's sake, which we now preach in England.'

Latimer must have sympathized most keenly in these trials of his revered friend and spiritual adviser. The reforming party were not daunted at the terrors of the chapter-house of Westminster, but seemed inspired with fresh courage to resist ecclesiastical oppression, while Latimer himself succeeded to the credit and influence of the amiable martyr. He constantly lectured in the chapel of the monastry, and assisted the prior in the discharge of his duty. One instance of his zeal at this period deserves particular mention. He wrote to the King against a proclamation recently issued, forbidding the use of the Bible in English, and other works on religious subjects. He had preached before his sovereign once or twice at Windsor, and had been noticed by him in a more gracious manner than was usual with that monarch. No consideration however of the probability of future favour could tempt him from the avowal of such sentiments, as were calculated to ameliorate the circumstances of the church. But these sentiments were given in terms of suitable respect. 'Accept, gracious Sovereign, without displeasure, what I have written; I thought it my duty to mention those things to your majesty. No personal quarrel, as God shall judge me, have I with any man; I

wanted only to induce your majesty to consider well what kind of persons you have about you, and the ends for which they counsel. Indeed, great prince, many of them, or they are much slandered, have very private ends. God grant your majesty may see through all the designs of evil men, and be in all things equal to the high office with which you are entrusted. Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself, have pity on your own soul, and think that the day is at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed by your sword: in the which day, that your grace may stand stedfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have your pardon sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which alone serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to Him, who suffered death for our sins. The Spirit of God preserve you!'

Though few men have been more tyrannical than the eighth Henry of England, when an immediate check was offered to the violence of his passions, yet, in the elements of his character, there were a generosity of feeling and a reverence of honesty which occasionally developed themselves. He not only took this address in good part, but political interests conspiring, distinguished him with particular notice. Perceiving that the success of his suite at Rome, while conducted by the popish party, was extremely problematical, he began to court the protestant divines, from whom he expected more unanimity in his favour, as men more likely to oppose any extravagant pretensions of the papal tiara, and even to furnish him with arguments for establishing his claim to ecclesiastical independence. Dr. Butts, his physician, received his commission to exercise his talents in persuading the reforming clergy

to accede to the measure of his divorce. Whatever opinions may be entertained on this subject by modern critics, and however palpable the inducement of the Romanists to throw a slur on the English reformation as connected with an event of such a description, we may rest assured that Latimer believed his Majesty's scruples were well-founded as to further cohabitation with his Queen. The royal commissioner applied to him among the first, as a person most likely to serve him; requesting him to collect the judgments of his friends on the case, and exert himself to conciliate the more staunch of the papal oppositionists. He undertook the task with much readiness, and discharged it so greatly to the satisfaction of the doctor, that when that gentleman returned to court, he took Latimer along with him, as a theologian who would prove acceptable to the Boleyn party, and others of the King's friends.

Among the latter was the Lord Cromwell, who was sincerely attached to the principles of the reformation, and who immediately took him under his patronage. He soon obtained the benefice of West-Kingston in Wiltshire, whither he resolved, as early as possible, to repair, and keep a constant residence. His friend, Dr. Butts, surprized at this resolution, did what he could to dissuade him from it. 'You are deserting,' said he, 'the fairest opportunities of making your fortune. The prime minister intends this only as an earnest of his future favours, and will certainly in time do great things for you. But it is the manner of courts to consider them as provided for, who seem to be satisfied; and, take my word for it, an absent claimant stands but a poor chance among rivals, who have the advantage of being present.'

This argument might have availed with a designin

and ambitious character; but Latimer, who had long resided in a seat of learning, and had been accustomed to walk in the shade of academic groves with men of devout and simple habits, was disgusted with the manners of the court, which presented so strong a contrast, in the opposite vices of profligacy, luxury, folly, malice, and detraction. Nor did he consider himself possessed of that authority and talent which might be likely to benefit the proud and intriguing parasites of the great Tudor. He left the palace, and entered on the duties of his parish. Nor was he satisfied within those limits; but having obtained an itinerating license from the university, extended his labours to other parts of the county, where he beheld the yeomen and peasantry buried in superstition and ignorance, and the priests lazy, illiterate, and blind leaders of the blind. As his manner was very popular, he was blessed with eminent success; alternately pitching his standard at the extremity of the camp, and returning to his own pavilion. He often preached at Bristol, where he was much countenanced by the magistracy. But in this city the more bigoted of the clergy began after a while to oppose his ministration. The mayor had appointed him to preach on Easter-day, of which public notice had been given; when suddenly there appeared an order from the bishop, forbidding any one to preach there without his license. The clergy waited on Latimer, and informed him of the bishop's order, and expressed their great regret that they should thus be deprived of the benefit of his excellent instructions. He received their compliment with a significant smile.

Their opposition became afterwards more public. The pulpits were desecrated into vehicles of personal

abuse; and such liberties were taken with his character, that he thought it necessary to justify himself, and boldly challenged his detractors to bring their complaints before the magistrates. When the mayor convened both parties, and put the accusers on producing legal proof, they completely failed in their attempts to substantiate their charges, which were resolved into slanderous reports.

Disappointed in this mode of attack, they were not long in forming another. Their party became daily stronger, and more exasperated. They drew up articles against him, extracted chiefly from his sermons; in which he was charged with speaking lightly of the worship of the saints, and with affirming that there was no material fire of a purgatorial description, and that, for his own part, he would rather be in purgatory than in the Lollard's tower! This accusation was formally laid before the bishop of London, and that prelate cited Latimer to appear before him. On his appealing to his own ordinary, a citation was obtained out of the archiepiscopal court, where the London diocesan and some other bishops were commissioned to examine him. His friends were alarmed for his safety, and advised him to make his escape; but their entreaties were in vain. He set out for London in the depth of winter, and under a severe fit of the stone, in the sixty-sixth year of his age; but he was more distressed at the apprehension of leaving his flock exposed to the incursion of Romish wolves, than at the idea of any personal suffering. On his arrival, a court of bishops and canonists were ready to receive him; where, instead of being examined, as he expected, about his discourses, a paper was handed to him, which he was invited to subscribe, declaring his belief in the efficacy of masses

for the souls in purgatory, of prayers to the saints in the Romish calendar, of pilgrimages to their tombs and relics, of the pope's power to forgive sins, of the doctrine of merit, the seven sacraments, and the worship of images. He refused. The archbishop frowned, and advised him to reflect on the course he meant to pursue. 'We intend not,' said he, 'Master Latimer, to be hard upon you—we dismiss you for the present—take a copy of the articles with you—examine them carefully, and God grant, that at our next meeting we may find each other in better temper!' A similar scene was acted over at several succeeding interviews. He was sent for thrice a week, with the hope of inveigling him by captious questions, or of teazing him into compliance. Of one of these examinations he gives the following report: 'I was brought out to be examined in the same chamber as before; but at this time it was somewhat altered. For, whereas before there was a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end. There was, among these bishops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and whom I took for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table's end. Then, among other questions, he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one; and when I should make answer, 'I pray you, Mr. Latimer,' said he, 'speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and there be many that sit afar off.' I marvelled at this, that I was bidden to speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; *and there I heard a pen plainly scratching behind the cloth.* They had appointed one there to write all my answers, that I should not start from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me

answers. I could never else have escaped them.' Who can read without emotion the simplicity of this account, contrasted with the practised subtlety of his antichristian judges?—He replied to the next summons by a letter to the archbishop; in which, with great freedom, he informed his Grace, 'that the treatment he had recently experienced had caused him so much uneasiness, as to hinder his attendance—that in the mean time he could not help taking this opportunity of expostulating with his Grace, for detaining him so long from the discharge of his duty—that it seemed to him most unaccountable, that they, who never preached themselves, should hinder others—that he could not comprehend their object in his examination; pretending, as they did, one thing in the beginning, and another in the progress—that if exception were taken to his sermons, which, however, he was persuaded were neither contrary to the truth, nor canons of the church, he held himself ready to answer—that he wished a little more regard might be had to the judgment of the people; and that a distinction might be drawn between the ordinances of God and man—that if some abuses in religion did prevail, as was then commonly supposed, he thought preaching the best means of correcting them—that he wished all pastors might be *obliged* to perform their duty; but that, at any rate, leave should be granted to such as were *willing*—that, with respect to the proposed articles, he requested to be excused his subscription; while he lived, he never would abet superstition; he hoped the archbishop would excuse what he had written; he knew his duty to his superiors, and would practise it; but, in the present case, he considered himself bound by a stronger obligation.'

The opposition, however, to his ministry still continued, and fresh schemes were planned against him, till they were frustrated in an unexpected manner. It was probably through the intervention of Lord Cromwell, that the King heard of the ill treatment he had sustained, and took measures to rescue him. Henry had obtained the sanction of the universities, the convocation, and the parliament, to the proposal of the divorce from Catharine, on the plea of her former marriage with his brother Arthur. The colleges of Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara, the Sorbonne at Paris, and other foreign seminaries, were equally favourable to his wishes; Calvin thought the marriage null; and many of the reformers on the continent agreed, that the pope's dispensation was of no force. His majesty therefore determined to act independently of the Roman see, issued proclamations against bulls, disgraced Cardinal Wolsey, and, knowing that his subjects were well inclined to shake off all obedience to 'the Vicar of Christ upon Earth,' in 1532 married the Lady Ann, who had deeply engaged his affections. The queen, from an early age, had learned to respect evangelical principles, and to understand the difference between that system which placed so much importance in the mere exterior of religion, and that which required the service of the heart. As to her personal character, it is by no means clear that she took particular means in the first instance to obtain the notice of the King, when holding a subordinate station at court; but when his preference was declared, if she encouraged his addresses, there is no reason to suppose that she herself, in common with others to whose judgment she had been accustomed to defer, did not believe his pretentions to a divorce to be well-grounded. How-

ever this be, she certainly entertained a deep and decided respect for the reforming and enlightened clergy, and was particularly struck with the dignified simplicity and apostolic fidelity of the incumbent of West-Kingston; while the report of Lord Cromwell, that he took a very active part in persuading the university of which he was a member to declare in favour of the divorce, and his Majesty's independence, would not fail to increase the interest which he had excited by an additional feeling of gratitude. She therefore readily joined his Lordship in an earnest recommendation of him for a bishoprick to Henry. It happened that the sees of Worcester and Salisbury were at that time vacant, by the deprivation of Ghinuccii and Campegio, two Italians, who had incurred the royal displeasure by their devotion to the chair of St. Peter. The former of these was offered to Latimer, who, conscious that he had used no endeavour to procure this distinction, regarded it as a call in providence. He had already been nominated Queen's chaplain, and in accepting a higher ecclesiastical honour, he trusted that he could serve God in the cause of his gospel at this critical period, and be the instrument of encouraging by his doctrine, example, and authority, such of the clergy and laity as were inclined to favour the principles of the Reformation.

The appointment of the new prelate was an important event in the ecclesiastical history of the day. He was remarkably zealous in the discharge of his office; active, determined, and vigilant. In writing, frequent; in ordaining, strict; in preaching, indefatigable; in reproving, severe; in exhorting, persuasive. But he had a very difficult part to act. While as a minister of God, he could faithfully proclaim his word;

as a bishop of the national church, he was much perplexed, mourning over the retention of ceremonies not merely frivolous, but actually pernicious. At such a season, he could not entirely lay them aside, and yet their observance kept him in a spirit of bondage as his mind was enlightened. Under these circumstances, he every now and then inquired into their origin; and when he found any, that had been introduced into the worship of the church with some plausibility of reason or appositeness of signification, he endeavoured to purify their usage as much as possible from unmeaning superstition. He explained to the people the nature and character of the sacramental signs, warning them against considering holy bread or holy water as magical charms.

To this end, he enjoined the clergy of his diocese, on delivering the water or the bread, to use these respective addresses:

For the former:

> Remember your promise in baptism,
> Christ his mercy and bloodshedding,
> By whose most holy sprinkling,
> Of all your sins you have free pardoning.

For the latter:

> Of Christ's body this is a token,
> Which on the cross for our sins was broken.
> Wherefore of your sins you must be forsakers,
> If of Christ's death ye will be partakers.

While his aims at partial reformation were thus confined to his diocese, he was called upon to exert them in a more public manner, by a summons to parliament and convocation in 1536. This session was regarded as very critical by the protestant party; as their chief, the Lord Cromwell, stood high in his

Majesty's favour, supported by Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, the immediate successor of Warham, as well as the bishops of Ely, Rochester, Hereford, Salisbury, and St. David's, besides the wise and zealous diocesan of Worcester. On the other hand, the Romanists presented some powerful antagonists in the persons of Lee, metropolitan of York, with the prelates of Winchester, London, Durham, Chichester, Norwich, and Carlisle. The convocation met in June, and as the appointment of the preacher lay in the archbishop of Canterbury, he nominated Latimer, who took for his text, "The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light." His known power of eloquence bespoke him the favourable attention of the Houses, while the simplicity of his matter made him generally preferred to more scholastic and refining theologians. Many warm debates passed in the course of the sessions between the two grand parties, in which Latimer took no leading part in public, however he might assist with his counsel in private.

The Lower House preferred sixty-seven Articles against ancient and modern heretics, which they sent to the Upper, requiring that preachers might be restrained from broaching sentiments contrary to the received doctrine of the church and of the canons. Attempts were made to detach the King from the patrons of the reformation; but; by an overruling providence they were all frustrated. Cromwell was raised to the principal administration of ecclesiastical affairs; Cranmer was continued in favour; and by the royal command it was proposed, that the rites and ceremonies of the Church should be amended by the rule of scripture, nor any custom permitted, which might be shown to be contrary to the word of God; as

it was absurd to refer rather to the opinions of pontiffs, than to the scripture itself, which alone contained the laws of religion. At length, certain regulations to this effect were signed by Cromwell, Cranmer, seventeen bishops, forty heads of conventual establishments, and fifty archdeacons and proctors. And though auricular confession was established, corporal presence in the sacrament allowed, and a qualified invocation of saints and homage of their statues retained; yet, a great point was considered to be gained on the part of the reformers in the recognition of Holy Scripture, to the depreciation of the vain traditions and fabulous legends of a preceding age.[1]

Latimer repaired to his diocese as soon as possible, having no desire to engage in state affairs. On that account Bishop Burnet speaks rather slightingly of his public character; but Latimer desired simply to discharge the office of an overseer of the church of Christ, according to the measure of grace given unto him, without entangling himself with secular concerns. He was not fitted by nature for a courtier, nor did he find any thing in the royal circle to induce a prolonged stay in the capital. While he doubtless rejoiced that Henry had so far sided with the reforming party, and that he had been made an instrument in the hand of Providence to purify in some measure the ecclesiastical constitution, yet he was not blind to the vices in the personal character of the monarch, as appears from the following anecdote. It was customary for the bishops to make presents to the King on new-year's day, and many of them were very liberal, in hope of reciprocal

[1] Fuller, L. v. Cent. 16. fol. 208—212.—Concil. Magn. Brit. v. p. 804, et seq.—Burnet and Fox.

bounty. Among the rest, the diocesan of Worcester waited on his Majesty with his offering; but instead of a purse of gold, which was the usual offering, he presented a New Testament, with a leaf doubled down and pointing to the passage, "*Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.*" He must also have felt horror and disgust, when Henry formed a new attachment for Lady Jane Seymour, and, to make way for an union with that female, scrupled not to bring Queen Anne to the block, on the most improbable charges of incontinence.

In 1538 the Bible was published in English by royal authority, to the great satisfaction of our prelate, who had forwarded that measure by such influence as he possessed; though the King discovered such vacillation in his policy between the two religious parties, that the effect was much neutralized. The next year, on the suppression of the monasteries, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, with some other leading romanists, prevailed on the King to favour in some respects the old superstitions; while Latimer and his friends pressed Cromwell, as Ecclesiastical Administrator, to reserve a few houses in the different counties for preaching, study, and prayer. About this period, being summoned to parliament, he took occasion to speak freely in a sermon preached at court on existing abuses; and when Henry had called together several bishops, to consult them on some theological matters, and the prelates had given their opinion, one of them knelt down, as they were on the point of separating, and accused Latimer of having dared to utter sedition in the royal pulpit. The King ordered him to vindicate himself, not without signs of evident displeasure. Latimer replied with firmness, but a becoming hu-

mility:—' I never thought myself worthy, nor did I ever sue to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike it, to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your Grace's pleasure to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your Grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt indeed to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace.' Henry was struck with the honesty and good sense of this answer; his countenance relaxed into a smile, and he dismissed the bishop with a tone and manner which indicated that he had not forfeited his favour.

There was one point in the conduct of Latimer, which would go far, under all circumstances, to conciliate the good will of the King; and that was, his determined support of his right to the supremacy in ecclesiastical causes. He was sent for to London, on a particular occasion to reclaim a friar, named Forrest, who denied this right; and he did all in his power to change the sentiment of the opposer; for whom the King appears previously to have entertained much respect. The friar continued inflexible, and was sentenced to die in Smithfield. The lords of the council went to the place of execution, and offered him his pardon if he would recant; and Latimer preached a sermon, in which he endeavoured to confute his errors, and entreated him to abjure them; but on his repeated refusal, he was fastened to a stake by a great chain and burned alive. Latimer, with eighteen other prelates, drew up and signed a declaration against the papal

jurisdiction, which thus concluded :—'That the people ought to be instructed, that Christ did expressly forbid his apostles or their successors to take to themselves the power of the sword, or the authority of kings; and that if the Bishop of Rome, or any other bishop, assumed such power, he was a tyrant and an usurper of other men's rights, and a subverter of the kingdom of Christ.'

Another declaration was also soon after subscribed by him and seven others to the effect:—'That by the commission which Christ gave to churchmen, they were only ministers of his gospel, to instruct the people in the purity of the faith: but that, by other places of scripture, the authority of Christian princes over all their subjects, as well bishops and priests as others, was also clear. And that the bishops and priests have charge of souls within their cures; power to administer sacraments and to teach the word of God: to the which word of God Christian princes acknowledge themselves subject; and that in case the bishops be negligent, it is the Christian prince's office to see them do their duty.'

While, however, Latimer thus conscientiously opposed all who would on unscriptural grounds 'lord it over God's heritage,' he conceived it his duty, as a father of the poor of his diocese, to protect them by such means as he possessed, against the oppression of their more powerful or wealthy neighbours. It seems, says Fox, there lived a certain gentleman in Warwickshire, in that part of it which lies within the diocese of Worcester, who had wronged a poor man, his neighbour, though he had kept within the literal sense of the law. The gentleman had a large estate in the county, and his brother was in the commission of the peace; while both were notorious for tyrannical

measures towards their inferiors. The poor man in his distress sought the protection of Latimer, who was moved with pity at his tale, and promised to use his best endeavour to obtain him redress. He wrote to the parties a lengthened reproof for the injurious treatment in which they had been engaged, requiring them to offer an early compensation; but they told him in reply, 'that they had done what was right, and would abide by it;—that as for the sufferer, the law was open,—and as for his lordship, they could not but think he interfered very impertinently in an affair which did not concern him.' He was not, however, thus to be diverted from his purpose, but wrote them a second letter, acquainting them in few words, 'that if the cause of complaint were not speedily removed, he would certainly himself lay the whole affair before the King.' This perseverance had the desired effect. While in this transaction he acted from a regard to duty as a Christian pastor, his feelings were probably the more sensibly alive to the wrong sustained by the complainant, from the recollection of his own origin, as the son of a petty yeoman; one of a class who, with the lower orders, was suffering from the increasing luxury of the age, and the domineering insolence of the higher ranks.

Notwithstanding the kindness which Henry showed to Cranmer and the reforming bishops, while their counsels suited his political or personal purposes, and subserved the designs of his lust or his ambition; he did not hesitate to act against them with all the violence of the most bigoted Romanist, either from the versatility of caprice, or the insolence of tyranny. If Anne Boleyn had artfully withdrawn his affections from his first Queen to fix them on herself, retributive justice

was not long in overtaking her, in the course of Divine providence. But she fell not alone; and the tenure was equally insecure, by which the most trusty counsellors held the favour of his Majesty. The vicegerent Cromwell was beheaded in 1540, as a traitor and a heretic, because he was suspected of encouraging an opposition made to the famous act of the Six Articles, proposed to parliament by the influence of the Duke of Norfolk and the popish clergy. All the promoters of reformation felt alarm at this measure, for it went to the extreme of declaring: 1. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no more substance of bread and wine, but the natural body and blood of Christ: 2. That vows of chastity ought to be observed: 3. That the use of private masses should be continued: 4. That communion in both kinds was not necessary: 5. That priests ought not to marry: 6. That auricular confession should be retained in the church.

It was impossible for the bishop of Worcester to sanction such an act, which outraged every Protestant feeling; nor did he esteem it lawful to hold an office in any church, in which such terms of communion were required. He therefore resigned his bishopric; and discovered on the occasion that pleasantry and liveliness which accompanied his most serious actions and gravest resolutions; for as soon as he came back to his lodgings, he threw of his robes, gave a jump, and said to his attendants, 'I think I never felt myself so light before!' This action, abstractedly regarded, is certainly not to be defended; but there is little doubt that the man who leaped then, knelt shortly after; and serious religionists, in canvassing minor improprieties in the behaviour of their brethren, should make con-

siderable allowance for those differences in natural character and physical organization which are found to exist in those who are partakers of the same grace, and endued with the same proportion of faith. Latimer retired into the country, where he resided during the heat of the persecution which followed this measure, and probably considered that the remainder of his days were destined to be passed in retirement. He thought he might, on just and scriptural grounds, avoid the violence of the storm which impended over the church. But in the midst of his security, an accident carried him again into the tempestuous atmosphere. He received a bruise from the fall of a tree, and the contusion was so dangerous, that he repaired to the metropolis for superior surgical assistance. The emissaries of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, discovered his place of sojourn; and on a vague charge of animadversion on the act of the Six Articles, he was committed to the Tower; where, without any judicial examination, he suffered, through one pretence or another, a cruel imprisonment for the remaining six years of King Henry's reign.

The design of his enemies was to hinder him from spreading reformed principles by his ministry or conversation, and their end was answered without putting him to death; nor was his confinement so strict, as that his acquaintance were debarred from personal interviews. He was now between seventy and eighty years of age, and probably felt the hardship of incarceration less, than might have been the case at an earlier period. Through the help of his God he was enabled to possess his soul in patience, and to be resigned to the will of that Providence, which had narrowly circumscribed the sphere of his bodily exercise, while his spirit could hold unrestrained communion

with its heavenly Father. He lived, he says, 'in the daily expectation of being called to be put to death; because at that time there was held a session in Newgate once every three weeks, and executions were as frequent.' This declaration he made in a sermon preached before Edward VI; and, at the same time, with an affecting sympathy, as remembering them that were in the bonds, requested that monarch to appoint some learned and diligent chaplain for the prison; because, he added, speaking of the criminals, 'many of them are cast away for want of instruction, and die in misery for lack of preaching.' It was probably in consequence of the representation of this venerable pastor, that an ordinary about that time was appointed to the gaol.

Latimer, in common with other sufferers in the same cause, was liberated, on the accession of Edward, and the dawning of a better day for the friends of reformation. He was highly esteemed by those who then came into power, and would have found no difficulty in dispossessing Heath, who had succeeded to his bishopric. The protector, the good duke of Somerset, proposed his resumption of the see; but, as a man of simple habits and advanced life, he declined the offer, and accepted an invitation from Archbishop Cranmer to take up his residence at Lambeth, where he led a very retired life, hearing the complaints, and redressing the grievances of the poor, as well as preaching occasional discourses. He passed more than two years in this manner, generally respected for his integrity and independence. He was frequently appealed to, for decision of differences, and solicited, as a medium of favour with the archbishop, the protector, or other persons of distinction. He interfered as little

as possible with public transactions, but assisted Cranmer in the composition of the Homilies, which were set forth by royal authority. He was also appointed preacher of the Lent lectures at court, during the three first years of that reign.

His sermons are distinguished for an honest enthusiasm, and a primitive freedom. In lashing the vices of the great he was vehement and severe, or sarcastic and humorous. His addresses were directed rather to the reformation of manners, than to the settlement of controversies. He spoke with the energy and zeal of an apostle; His action and manner were striking; he frequently descended to a familiarity of expression, and excursed from the subject of his text with a neglect of method, which could not bear the severity of modern criticism.

He preached before the King a sermon which gave great offence to the papistical party, soon after the death of the Lord High Admiral, who was executed for treasonable practices; and reflected on those who were opposing the new Liturgy, and other ecclesiastical regulations, in the following terse and nervous parallelism: 'He was, I heard say, a covetous man, a covetous man indeed: I would there were no more in England. He was, I heard say, an ambitious man: I would there were none in England. He was, I heard say, a seditious man, a contemner of common prayer: I would there were no more in England. Well! he is gone! I would he had left none behind him!' (Sermons, 1607, p. 83.) Sometimes he declaimed with great severity, against the spoil of the goods of the church without law or order. Cranmer and Ridley also delivered their consciences very freely on that head: but they were not

able to stem the torrent of licentiousness and corruption, which had deluged the land in such a manner, as if irreligion had been the consequence of forsaking confession, penance, and other peculiarities of the ancient order of things.[1] Many of the superior and inferior clergy, who were secret Romanists, but had complied with the reforming plans to preserve their benefices, neglected the pastoral care; and while thus indirectly contributing to the general profligacy, seemed desirous that an idea should obtain in the public mind, that the existing disorders and abuses were referable to the encroachments made on the papal superstition.

Through the intrigues of the Earls of Warwick and Southampton, the protector himself had been sent to the Tower, at the same time that his brother the Lord High Admiral was beheaded, but had received a pardon. In 1551, two years after, he was again arrested, and fell a victim to the rivalry and ambition of an opposite party in the state. He declared his affection for the Protestant profession, and a great satisfaction in the remembrance of his exertions for its establishment. He was regarded as a sort of Martyr by the people, who dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood at the scaffold; and though his fall was owing to political rather than religious causes, yet the friends of the reformation had particular reason to lament his loss, which led to a revolution in the state of the court, and gave considerable advantage to the papal interest. Bishop Heath, however, was deprived, as well as Day, diocesan of Chichester, for too openly opposing the reformation; and other events, during the continuance of Edward's life, showed that though the Romanists

[1] Warner's Eccl. Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 314.

had gained strength, they were not yet triumphant. But as that young and pious monarch laboured under the effects of a consumptive cough, the leading supporters of the protestants could not but anticipate increasing difficulties in the event of his decease, and the possible accession of the Princess Mary, the declared enemy of ecclesiastical innovation.

Latimer, under these distressing circumstances, as well from prudence as inclination, avoided intercourse with the great, and retiring into the country, made use of the King's licence as a general preacher, where he thought his labours might be most serviceable. He rose early to pursue his private studies, both in summer and winter, and devoted the chief part of the day to visiting the middling and lower orders, strengthening them in the principles of the reformed church. He seems to have felt that the time was short, and desired to work while it was day, knowing that the night was coming on. He had told the King and nobility plainly, in one of his discourses, that certain persons would be very ready to remove him out of the way, and that his own execution would be the sure consequence of a change in the government.

Ere many years elapsed his prediction was fulfilled. The death of Edward in 1553 was the signal for open persecution. Mary had no sooner assumed the reigns of empire, than the prelates and clergy, who had been distinguished for their zeal in the promotion of a purer worship, were either forced to flee their country, recant, or suffer imprisonment and death. Gardiner was armed with the chief authority to the gratification of all merciless zealots, and one of his first measures was to send a citation to Latimer to appear before the council. He had notice of the summons six hours before the

arrival of the pursuivant with its regular delivery, but determined to await the result. The messenger found him equipped for his journey; and when he expressed his surprise, Latimer said, 'My friend you are welcome! I go to London to give an account of my faith, as willingly as ever I went to any place in the world; and I doubt not but as God hath made me worthy formerly to preach his word before two excellent Princes, so he will enable me to bear witness to the truth before the third, either to her eternal comfort or discomfort.'[1] The messenger informed him, that he had received no orders to arrest his person, but merely to deliver the letter. It has been conjectured that the secret design of his enemies was to drive him out of the kingdom, believing that their cause would be little advantaged by his execution. They desired his exile, 'lest (says Fox) his firmness and constancy should deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.' But as is observed by Warner, 'the good old man, conscious of his innocence, and disengaged entirely from the world, surrendered himself up, and freely laid down his life, when the cause of God required it.' He immediately set out for the capital, and as he passed through Smithfield, said cheerfully, 'Smithfield hath long groaned for me.' The next morning he waited upon the council, where he met with taunts and reproaches, shameful in themselves and sufficiently indicative of the injustice of their cause, which he exposed in an undaunted manner, and was committed to the Tower. His usual pleasantry did not forsake him in his confinement. One day, in the depth of winter, he bade the servant who attended him tell his master, the Lieutenant of the

[1] Clarke's Lives, p. 237.—Fox, &c.

Tower, that if he did not take better care of him, he should probably escape from his custody. The Lieutenant demanded an explanation of his prisoner, who replied, 'Why, you expect, I suppose, that I should be burnt; but if you don't allow me a little fire this frosty weather, I shall be starved to death with cold.'

Cranmer and Ridley were confined with him, and after they had passed the winter in prison, they were sent to Oxford in the spring of 1554, to hold a disputation with some popish divines. While Ridley was sitting with him, ruminating on their mutual need of preparation, 'The time is now come,' said the amiable bishop of London, 'and we are now called upon, either to deny our faith, or die in its defence. You, Master Latimer, are an old soldier of Christ, and have frequently withstood the fear of death; but I am raw and inexperienced. I wish you would hear me propose such arguments, as my adversaries are likely to urge against me, and help me in preparing some answers.'—'I believe, my Lord,' replied Latimer, 'you are dealing with me as good Master Bilney used to do, who when he wanted to teach me, would always do it under colour of being taught himself. But in the present case, I am determined to give them very little trouble. I shall just give a plain account of my faith. Any thing further will be quite unnecessary. They talk of granting us free disputation; but their grand argument will be that of their forefathers, *We have a law, and by that law ye ought to die!*'—'I hope you will pray for me,' said Ridley. 'Of my prayers,' answered Latimer, 'you may be assured, nor do I doubt that I shall have your's in return. Prayer and patience should be our grand resources. For myself, had I the learning of St. Paul, I should think

it ill laid out on an elaborate defence. Yet our case admits of comfort. Our enemies can do no more than God permits; and God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above what we are able. Be at a point with them; stand to that; and let them say and do what they please. To use many words would be in vain; yet it is requisite to give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you. For other things, a man may keep silence, in a wicked judgment-hall, after the example of Christ. As for their sophistry, you know falsehood may often be displayed in the colours of truth. But, Oh, my Lord! be on your guard against the fear of death! This is the great argument you must oppose. We cannot be more happy, than by being such Philippians, as not only believe in Christ, but dare to suffer for his sake!'

At the examination or trial, while his two companions answered too much in the manner of schoolmen to the quotations of the fathers, Latimer told his opponents plainly, 'that such proofs had no weight with him; that the fathers were doubtless often deceived; and that he never depended upon *them*, but when *they* depended upon Scripture.' 'Then,' said they, 'you are not of St. Chrysostom's faith, nor of St. Austin's.' 'I have told you I am not,' he repeated, 'unless they bring Scripture for what they say.' On the eighteenth of April, Latimer was required to dispute with Mr. Smith and several other theologians, subsequently to the appearance of Cranmer and Ridley. He delivered in the following protestation to Dr. Weston, the Prolocutor.

'The conclusions whereto I must answer are these,—

'1. The first is, that in the Sacrament of the altar, by virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest, there

is really present the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearances of bread and wine; and in like manner his blood.

'2. The second is, that after consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor none other substance, but the substance of God and man.

'3. The third is, that in the mass there is the lively sacrifice of the church, which is propitiable, as well for the sins of the quick as of the dead.

'Concerning the first conclusion, methinks it is set forth with certain new-found terms, that be obscure, and do not sound according to the speech of the scripture. Howbeit, howsoever I understand it, this I do answer plainly, though not without peril. I answer, I say, that to the right celebration of the Lord's supper, there is no other presence of Christ required, than a spiritual presence: and this presence is sufficient for a Christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere. And this same presence may be called most fitly, a real presence, that is, a presence not feigned, but a true and a faithful presence. Which thing I here rehearse, lest some sycophant or scorner should suppose me with the Anabaptists, to make nothing else of the Sacrament but a naked and bare sign. As for that which is feigned of many concerning their corporal presence, I for my part take it but for a papistical invention, therefore think it utterly to be rejected.

'Concerning the second conclusion, I dare be bold to say, that it hath no stay or ground in God's word, but is a thing invented and found out by man; and therefore to be taken as fond and false; and I had almost said, as the mother and nurse of all the other errors.

It were good for my lords and masters of Transubstantiation to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians; for I do not see how they can avoid it.

'The third conclusion (as I do understand it) seemeth subtlely to sow sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his own proper person, according to that pithy place of Paul, when he saith, *That Christ his own self hath made purgation of our sins.* And afterward, *That he might* (saith he) *be a merciful and faithful bishop, concerning those things which are to be done with God for the taking away of our sins.* So that the expiation or taking away of our sins may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering bishop, than that he was offered of himself: and therefore it is needless that he should be offered of any other. I will speak nothing of the wonderful presumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation, especially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitless (if not wholly, yet partly) of the cross of Christ: for truly it is no base or mean thing to offer Christ. And therefore worthily a man may say to my lords and masters the offerers; By what authority do ye this? and who gave you this authority? Where? when? *A man cannot* (saith the Baptist) *take any thing, except it be given him from above.* Much less then may any man presume to usurp any honour, before he be thereto called. Again, *If any man sin* (saith St. John) *we have* (saith he) not a masser or offerer at home, which can sacrifice for us at mass, but we have (saith he) *an advocate,* Jesus Christ, which once offered himself long ago: of which offering, the efficacy and effect is perdurable for ever; so that it is needless to have such offerers.

'What meaneth Paul when he saith, *They that serve at the altar are partakers of the altar;* and so addeth, *So the Lord hath ordained that they that preach the Gospel shall live of the Gospel.* Whereas he should have said, The Lord hath ordained that they that sacrifice at mass should live of their sacrificing; that there might be a living assigned to our sacrificers now, as was before Christ's coming to the Jewish priests. For now they have nothing to allege for their living, as they that are preachers have. So that it appeareth that the sacrificing priesthood is changed by God's ordinance into a preaching priesthood, and the sacrificing priesthood should cease utterly, saving inasmuch as all Christian men are sacrificing priests. The supper of the Lord was instituted to provoke us to thanksgiving, for the offering which the Lord himself did offer for us; much rather than that our offerers should do there as they do. *Feed* (saith Peter) *as much as ye may the flock of Christ:* nay rather, let us sacrifice as much as we may for the flock of Christ. If so be the matter be as now men make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of sacrificing, which at this day is in such a price and estimation, that to feed is almost nothing with many. If thou cease from feeding the flock, how shalt thou be taken? truly Catholic enough. But if thou cease from sacrificing and massing, how will that be taken? at the least I warrant thee, thou shalt be called an heretic. And whence, I pray you, come these papistical judgments? Except perchance they think a man feedeth the flock in sacrificing for them; and then what needeth there any learned pastors? For no man is so foolish, but soon may he learn to sacrifice and mass it.

'Thus, lo! I have taken the more pains to write,

because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debility thereunto: that all men may know, how that I have so done, not without great pains, having not any man to help me, as I have never before been debarred to have. O, Sir! you may chance to live till you come to this age and weakness that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two kings, more than once, two or three hours together, without interruption. But now, that I may speak the truth, by your leave, I could not be suffered to declare my mind before you, no, not by the space of a quarter of an hour, without snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts; such as I have not felt the like, in such an audience, all my life long. Surely it cannot be but an heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forsooth I had spoken of *the four marrow-bones of the mass!* The which kind of speaking I never read to be a sin against the Holy Ghost.

'I could not be allowed to show what I meant by my metaphor. But, Sir, now, by your favour, I will tell your mastership what I mean.

'The first is the popish consecration; which hath been called a God's body making.

'The second is Transubstantiation.

'The third is missal Oblation.

'The fourth Adoration.

'These chief and principal portions, parts, and points, belonging or incident to the mass, and most esteemed and had in price in the same, I call the marrow-bones of the mass: which indeed you by force, might, and violence, intrude in sound of words, in some of the scripture, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the same: but else indeed plain out of the scripture, as I am thoroughly persuaded, although in

disputation I could now nothing do, to persuade the same to others, being both unapt to study, and also to make a show of my former study, in such readiness as should be requisite to the same.

'I have heard much talk of Master Dr. Weston to and fro in my time; but I never knew your person to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the Queen's Majesty's Commissioner: I pray God send you so right judgment, as I perceive you have a great wit, great learning, with many other qualities. God give you grace ever well to use them, and ever to have in remembrance, that he, that dwelleth on high, looketh on the low things of the earth: and that there is no counsel against the Lord: and also that this world hath been, and yet is, a tottering world. And yet again, that though we must obey the princes, yet that hath this limitation, *in the Lord.* For whoso doth obey them against the Lord, they be most pernicious to them, and the greatest adversaries that they have: for they so procure God's vengeance upon them, if God be the only ruler of things.

'There be some so corrupt in mind, the truth being taken from them, that they think gain to be godliness; great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing and raging about questions and strife of words. I call them men of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much else soever they know. And on this sort we are wont to call great learned clerks, being ignorant of Christ, unlearned men: for it is nothing but plain ignorance, to know any thing without Christ: whereas whoso knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to seek. The Apostle, St. Paul, confesseth of himself to the Corinthians, that he did know nothing, but Jesus

Christ crucified. Many men babble many things of Christ, which yet know not Christ: but pretending Christ, do craftily colour and darken his glory. *Depart from such men,* saith the Apostle St. Paul to Timothy.

'It is not out of the way to remember what St. Augustine saith. The place where, I now well remember not, except it be against the Epistles of Perillian: 'Whosoever (saith he) teacheth any thing necessarily to be believed, which is not contained in the Old or New Testament, the same is accursed?' Oh, beware of this curse if you be wise! I am much deceived if Basil have not such like words: 'Whatsoever (saith he) is beside the Holy Scripture, if the same be taught as necessarily to be believed, that is sin.' Oh, therefore, take heed of this sin! There be some that speak many false things more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth itself. Therefore, Paul giveth a watch-word. *Let no man,* (saith he) *deceive you with probability and persuasions of words.* But what mean you, saith one, by this talk so far from the matter? Well, I hope, good masters, you will suffer an old man a little to play the child, and to speak one thing twice. O Lord God! you have changed the most holy communion into a private action; and you deny to the laity the Lord's cup, contrary to Christ's commandment; and you do blemish the annunciation of the Lord's death till he come: for you have changed the Common Prayer called the divine service, with the administration of the Sacraments, from the vulgar and known language, into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the door of your heart, to see the things you should see herein. I would as fain obey my Sovereign as any in this realm: but in these things

I can never do it with an upright conscience. God be merciful to us. Amen.' Cranmer was spared on a judicial point; but sentence was passed on the others. They were treated with all possible indignity; for though Cardinal Pole, the papal legate, styled both Ridley and Latimer bishops in the commission, and directed their degradation in case of obstinacy; yet the delegates would allow neither of them to be more than a priest.

While in confinement Latimer is recorded to have made three subjects especial matter of prayer. 1. That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine, that he might give his heart's blood for the same!—2. That God of his mercy would restore his Gospel to England once again—once again!—3. That the Lord would preserve the Princess Elizabeth, and make her a comfort to the realm of England! These petitions he was accustomed to recite with extraordinary fervour, and would sometimes continue so long upon his knees, that through the rigidity of muscle attendant on old age, he was forced to be raised up.

The two Bishops were led to execution on the sixteenth of October, 1555. When they were passing by Cranmer's prison, they looked up, hoping to see him, and bid him farewell; but the archbishop was engaged at that instant in dispute with some friars, and forgot to appear at the window: recollecting himself however shortly after, he went to the upper part of the house, and looking down on them with great tenderness, supplicated God to grant them faith and patience in their extremity. On their arrival at the destined spot to the north of Baliol College, they heard an abusive sermon, and were ordered at its conclusion to prepare

for the stake. Latimer, casting off his prison attire, appeared in his shroud; 'and whereas before (says Fox) he seemed a withered and crooked old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might likely behold.' Turning to his partner in affliction, he made that encouraging exhortation which has passed into a proverb: 'Dr. Ridley! Be of good comfort, brother, and play the man: we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out!' As he was burning, the blood ran from his heart in such abundance, that it seemed an answer to his prayer. When the fire was first kindled, he cried, 'O Father of heaven, receive my soul!' Then receiving the flame, and as it were embracing it, stroking his face with his hands, and bathing them in the fire, he expired without demonstation of bodily pain.

Ridley.

Nicholas Ridley was born of an ancient family at Wilmondswick, in Northumberland. He was educated in the rudiments of learning at Newcastle upon Tyne, and enabled by the kindness of Dr. Robert Ridley, his uncle, to study at Cambridge, where he entered at Pembroke Hall, and proceeded Bachelor of Arts. His character and attainments gaining the respect of the other university, as well as of his own, he was elected fellow of University College in Oxford, in 1524. The next year he took his master's degree, and was appointed by the college to an official situation.[1]

He passed three or four years on the Continent, to make himself acquainted with the divinity and learning of foreign academies, and acquire that knowledge of human character, which to an observant mind is the result of travel. But neither Oxford, Paris, nor Louvain, could weaken his early predilection for Cambridge, whither he returned to prosecute his theological studies. As his safest guide, he diligently read the Scriptures in the original; and, in a walk in the orchard at Pembroke Hall, which is to this day called Ridley's Walk, he succeeded in committing to memory all the epistles in Greek. He was very urbane in his manners,

[1] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i. p. 78.

and devout without any appearance of sanctimonious monasticism, for he would sometimes relax in shooting at a mark, or playing at tennis. He happened to be senior proctor, when the university was called to examine the scriptural foundation of the papal supremacy; and their resolution, 'That the Bishop of Rome had no more authority or jurisdiction derived to him from God, in this kingdom of England, than any other foreign bishop,' was signed by Simon Heynes, vice-chancellor, Nicholas Ridley, and Richard Wilkes, proctors, to the lasting credit of the parties concerned. He lost his uncle in 1536, but found a greater patron in Archbishop Cranmer, who appointed him his domestic chaplain, and collated him to the vicarage of Herne in East Kent. He bore public testimony against the act of the Six Articles, and instructed his flock in Christian verities, as far as they were known to him, although at this period he held the tenet of transubstantiation. But it pleased God to awaken him to a sense of its erroneousness, by the perusal of the treatise of Bertram, a pious monk, who had shone as a light in an age of gross darkness; and having sought in a humble and teachable spirit the doctrine of Scripture, and of the more ancient fathers, on the subject of the Lord's Supper, he became a convert to the reformed sentiment, and had the satisfaction of witnessing a similar change in his patron, on the grateful communication of his own convictions.

He was now advanced to the doctorate, elected master of Pembroke Hall, and made chaplain to Henry VIII. He also obtained the fifth prebendal stall in Canterbury cathedral, on the new regulation of that ecclesiastical body, proving a most efficient coadjutor to the Archbishop in all his endeavours for the Refor-

mation. His argumentative powers, solid learning, scriptural information, and critical acumen, ranked him among the first divines of his day; while his eloquent address, affable behaviour, kind disposition, and agreeable appearance, rivetted the admiration of his friends, and conciliated the good will of his enemies. In the succeeding reign of Edward VI. when a royal visitation was resolved on throughout the kingdom, he attended the visitors of the northern circuit as their preacher, to instruct that part of the nation in the principles of true religion. His graceful elocution attracted great multitudes, and he became in many instances a successful herald of the grace of Jehovah.

On the translation of Dr. Henry Holbeach from the see of Rochester to that of Lincoln, he was consecrated bishop of the former in 1547; and two years after removed to the diocese of London, on the deprivation of Bonner. Of all the reforming theologians, he approached the nearest to the Church of England, in her present views both of doctrine and discipline. His notions of ecclesiastical polity were high, but in general just; and in the economy of the church, he allowed an equitable regard to the authority of the state. In the first edition of the Liturgy, published in 1548, this respected prelate took a very active part. [1]

The Lord Protector wishing to suppress Clare Hall, and unite it with Trinity Hall, in Cambridge, to augment the number of Fellows there to twenty, in order to found an establishment for civilians, a commission was granted to the bishops of Ely and Rochester, with some other ecclesiastical and legal persons, for that purpose. His Lordship was unacquainted with his

[1] Guthrie, Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 8.—Fuller, p. 386.

nomination, till two of the commissioners, Mr. Secretary Smith, and Dr. May, dean of St. Paul's, sent to inform him of the event, and his appointment to the office of preacher, at the commencement of their labours. He desired Dr. May to intimate the special ends of the commission, that he might be guided in the matter of his discourse. The dean replied, that its objects were the abolition of some superstitious practices, and the appointment of needful statutes; so that his employment would not outrage his feelings, but be congenial with his best sentiments. He was again put into commission with the Archbishop, the bishops of Ely, Worcester, Chichester, Lincoln, &c. to search after all Anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of the Common Prayer. For complaint had been brought to the council, that among the foreigners, who had fled to England from Germany on account of their religious principles, were found some Anabaptists, who were industriously disseminating their peculiar opinions, not only on the subject of baptism, but on others deeply affecting the purity of doctrinal tenets, and the harmony of ecclesiastical communion. Some were more moderate, others more extravagant. From the declarations of some Londoners, who abjured before the commissioners, it appears, that the latter held, 'That a man regenerate could not sin: that though the outward man sinned, the inward sinned not: that there was no Trinity of Persons: that Christ was no more than a holy prophet: that the only advantage gained by Christ, was instruction in the way of salvation: that he took no flesh of the Virgin Mary: and that the baptism of infants was unprofitable, because unattended by personal profession of faith.'

Among those who held heretical notions was the

famous Joan Boucher, commonly called Joan of Kent, who maintained her metaphysical subtilties with great pertinacity. She affirmed, that the Son of God did not take of the substance of his mother, and drew a distinction in support of this tenet, so contrary to the confession of the universal church, between *Christ* and the *Word*, and between the *outward* and *inward* man of the Virgin; allowing the Word to have assumed humanity by consent of the latter, but denying that Christ took flesh of her outward man, because it was sinful. Her judges accordingly passed sentence upon her, and delivered her over to the secular power. Such a transaction it is a melancholy office to record, in a day when the principles of toleration are well understood. Ridley seems not to have been present; for the only names mentioned in the sentence, are those of the Archbishop, Sir John Smith, William Cook, dean of the Arches, Hugh Latimer, and Richard Lyall, doctor of laws. The unsophisticated feeling of the pious young sovereign revolted at the demand of Cranmer to sign the warrant for her burning; but that prelate, blinded by the prejudices of the age, observed that lenity could not be shown to one who had so openly and scornfully rejected an express article of the Christian creed; and represented that it would betray indifference towards religion itself, to neglect putting in execution the laws established for maintaining God's honour, while they were diligent in those that were enacted to maintain the King's honour, and the peace or property of the subject. This was wretched sophistry; and the only qualification which can be offered on the part of Cranmer, is the probability, that he expected the terror of execution might induce a retractation of opinions, which could not be effected by force of argument. He exerted all

his powers of logic to convince and save her from the fire, in which he was joined by Ridley. They both visited her; they severally took her home to their own dwellings, and conversed with her on the mysterious subject of the Incarnation; but their endeavours to reclaim her were fruitless, and she suffered on the second of May, 1550.

The bishop of Rochester now repaired to Cambridge with his fellow-commissioners to hold the visitation for abolishing papal superstitions, but still unconscious of the intended suppression of Clare Hall. He desired to see the instructions, but his associates contrived to keep him ignorant of their whole tenour, till he had preached his sermon, and their proceedings were somewhat advanced. When at length he was shown their instructions, he disapproved their ultimate design, but considered it his duty to concur with the other commissioners in endeavouring to persuade the master and fellows to surrender their house into the King's hands; but the society could not be induced to consent to the measure. The majority of the commissioners were of opinion, that they might proceed to the union of the two colleges, by the King's absolute power, without the consent of the respective members. But Ridley modestly opposed this counsel, and with much calmness dissented; being determined not to violate the King's honour, or his own conscience, by a forcible invasion of the rights and privileges of a collegiate body. As he desired leave to absent himself, or to maintain silence, the commissioners acquainted the Protector with this interruption from the Bishop of Rochester; and by an invidious mode of complaint, represented, that he, 'by his barking,' hindered them from proceeding in the King's service; imputing his dissent to a

partiality for the northern men, with whom, at that time, Clare Hall abounded. This exasperated the Protector, who wrote to the Bishop in a tone of censure, and received the following reply.

'RIGHT HONOURABLE!

'I wish your Grace the holy and wholesome fear of God; because I am persuaded your Grace's goodness to be such unfeignedly, that even wherein your Grace's letter doth sore blame me, yet in the same the advertisement of the truth shall not displease your Grace: And also perceiving that the cause of your Grace's discontent was wrong information, therefore I shall beseech your Grace to give me leave to show your Grace wherein it appeareth to me that your Grace is wrong informed.

'Your Grace's letters blame me, because I did not (at the first before the visitation began, having knowledge of the matter) show my mind. The truth is, before God, I never had, nor could get any foreknowledge of the matter, of the uniting the two colleges, before we had begun and had entered two days in the visitation; and that your Grace may plainly thus well perceive.

'A little before Easter, I, being at Rochester, received letters from Mr. Secretary Smith, and the Dean of St. Paul's, to come to the visitation of the university, and to make a sermon at the beginning thereof. Wherefore I sent immediately a servant up to London to the dean of St. Paul's, desiring of him to have had some knowledge of things there to be done; because I thought it meet that my sermon should somewhat have savoured of the same. From Mr. Dean I received a letter instructing me only, that the cause of the visitation was to abolish statutes and ordinances, which maintained

papistry, superstition, blindness, and ignorance; and to establish and set forth such as might further God's word and good learning: And else, the truth is, he would show me nothing, but bade me be careless, and said, there were informations how all things were to be done. The which, I take God to witness, I did never see, nor could get knowledge what they were, before we were entered in the visitation two days, although I desired to have seen them in the beginning. Now when I had seen the instructions, the truth is, I thought peradventure the master and company would have surrendered up their college: but when their consent, after labour and travail taken therein two days, could not be obtained, then we began secretly to consult; all the commissioners thinking it best, that every man should say his mind plainly, that in execution there might appear but one way to be taken of all. There, when it was seen to some, that without the consent of the present incumbents, by the King's absolute power, we might proceed to the uniting the two colleges, I did, in my course, simply and plainly declare my conscience; and that, there only, secretly among ourselves alone, with all kind of softness, so that no man could be justly offended. Also, I perceive by your Grace's letters, I have been noted of some for 'my barking' there; And yet to *bark*, lest God should be offended, I cannot deny, but indeed it is a part of my profession; for God's word condemneth the *dumb dogs that will not bark*, and give warning of God's displeasure.

'As for that, that was suggested to your Grace, that by my aforesaid 'barking,' I should dishonour the King's Majesty, and dissuade others from the execution of the King's commission, God is my judge, I intended,

according to my duty to God and the King, the maintenance and defence of his Highness's royal honour and dignity. If that be true, that I believe is true, which the prophet saith, *Honor regis judicium diligit*—the King's power loveth judgment—and as the commissioners must needs, and I am sure will all testify, that I dissuaded no man, but contrariwise, exhorted every man (with the quiet of other) to satisfy his own conscience; desiring only, that if it should otherwise be seen unto them, that I might either by my absence or silence satisfy mine. The which my plainness, when some, otherwise than according to my expectation, did take, I was moved thereupon (both for the good opinion I had, and yet have, in your Grace's goodness: and also especially because your Grace had commanded me so to do) to open my mind, by my private letters freely to your Grace.

'And thus I trust your Grace perceiveth now, both that anon, after knowledge had, I did utter my conscience, and also that the matter was not opened unto me before the visitation was two days begun. If in this I did amiss, that before the knowledge of the instructions, I was ready to grant to the execution of the commission; truly, I had rather herein acknowledge my fault, and submit myself to your Grace's correction, than, after knowledge had, wittingly and willingly commit that thing whereunto my conscience doth not agree, for fear of God's displeasure.

'It is a godly wish that is wished in your Grace's letters, that flesh, and blood, and country, might not weigh with some men more than godliness and reason: But the truth is, country in this matter (whatsoever some men do suggest unto your Grace) shall not move me. And that your Grace shall well perceive, for I

shall be as ready as any other, first thence to expel some of my own country, if the report which is made of them, can be tried true. And as for that your Grace saith of flesh and blood, that is the favour or fear of mortal man: Yea, marry, Sir, that is a matter of weight indeed; and the truth is, (alas! my own feebleness) of that I am afraid: But I beseech your Grace, yet once again, give me good leave, wherein here I fear my own frailty, to confess the truth. Before God, there is no man this day (leaving the King's Majesty for the honour only excepted) whose favour or displeasure I do either seek or fear, as your Grace's favour or displeasure; for of God, both your Grace's authority, and my bounden duty for your Grace's benefits bind me so to do. So that if the desire of any man's favour, or fear of displeasure, should weigh more with me than godliness and reason, truly if I may be bold to say the truth, I must needs say, that I am most in danger to offend herein, either for desire of your Grace's favour, or for fear of your Grace's displeasure. And yet I shall not cease (God willing) daily to pray to God so to stay and strengthen my frailty with holy fear, that I do not commit the thing for favour or fear of any mortal man, whereby my conscience may threaten me with the loss of the favour of the living God: But that it may please Him of his gracious goodness (howsoever the world goes) to blow this in the ears of my heart, *God hath broken the bones of them that please men.* And this, *It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.* And again, *Fear not those who kill the body.*

'Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Grace for God's love not to be offended with me for renewing of this my suit unto your Grace; which is, that wherein

my conscience cannot well agree, if any such thing chance in this visitation, I may, with your Grace's favour have licence, either by mine absence or silence, or other like means, to keep my conscience quiet. I wish your Grace, in God, honour and endless felicity.

'Your Grace's humble and daily orator,

'NICHOLAS ROFFENSIS.'

From Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, June 1, 1549.

The Protector was at that time with the King at Richmond. On the receipt of the Bishop of Rochester's letter he conferred with the Archbishop, as the known friend of the writer, to discover if Ridley had any secret motives for his conduct, and then made his rejoinder.

'After our right hearty commendations to you. We have received your letters of the first of June, again replying to those which we last sent unto you. And as it appeareth, you yet remaining in your former request desire, if things do occur so, that according to your concience, you cannot do them, that you might absent yourself, or otherwise keep silence. We would be loth any thing should be done by the King's Majesty's visitors, otherwise than right and conscience might allow and approve: and visitation is to direct things to the better, not to the worse; to ease consciences, not to clog them. Marry, we would wish the executors thereof should not be scrupulous in conscience, otherwise than reason would. Against your conscience it is not our will to move you, as we would not gladly do, nor move any man to that which is against right and conscience; and we trust the King's Majesty hath not in this matter. And we think in this you do much wrong, and much discredit the other visitors, that you should seem to think and suppose, that they would do things against conscience. We take them to be men

of that candour and honesty, that they will not. My Lord of Canterbury hath declared unto us, that maketh partly a conscience unto you, that divines should be diminished. That can be no cause: for, first, the same was met before in the late King's time, to unite the two colleges together; as we are sure you have heard, and Sir Edward North can tell: And for that cause, all such as were students of the law, out of the new erected cathedral church, were disappointed of their livings, only reserved to have been in that civil college. The King's Hall being in a manner all lawyers, canonists were turned out and joined to Michael-house, and made a college of divines, wherewith the number of divines was much augmented, civilians diminished. Now at this present also, if in all other colleges, where lawyers be by the statutes, or the King's injunctions, you do convert them, or the more part of them, to divines, ye shall rather have more divines upon this charge than ye had before. The King's College should have six lawyers; Jesus College, some; the Queen's College, and other, one or two apiece. And as we are informed by the late King's injunctions, every College in Cambridge, one at the least: All these together do make a greater number than the Fellows of Clare-Hall be, and they now made divines, and the statutes in that reformed, divinity shall not be diminished in number of students, but increased, as appeareth, although these two colleges be so united. And we are sure you are not ignorant, how necessary a study that study of civil law is to all treaties with foreign princes and strangers, and how few there be at this present to do the King's Majesty service therein. For we would the increase of divines, as well as you. Marry, necessity compelleth us also to maintain the

science; and we require you, my lord, to have consideration how much you do hinder the King's Majesty's proceedings in that visitation, if now you, who are one of the visitors, should thus draw back, and discourage the other, you should much hinder the whole doings; and peradventure, that thing known, maketh the master and fellows of Clare Hall to stand the more obstinate. Wherefore we require you to have regard of the King's Majesty's honour, and the quiet performings of that visitation, most to the glory of God and benefit of that university; the which thing is only meant in your instructions. To the performing of that, and in that manner, we can be content you use your doings as you think best, for the quieting of your conscience. Thus we bid you heartily farewell. From Richmond, the 10th of June, 1549.

'Your loving friend,

'E. SOMERSET.'

Obsolete as is the style of this correspondence, its insertion may serve to exhibit the characters of the Bishop and the Protector: the former letter is the production of an honest divine, the latter of a disingenuous statesman. The Duke of Somerset was not wholly free from that spirit of spoliation, which was the reigning vice of the age; and it has been suspected, that the sale of the lands belonging to Clare Hall, by which he would be benefited, was the secret motive for the earnestness with which he pressed the measure of its demolition: but Ridley could not be persuaded to countenance such a proceeding by his concurrence, and preferred risking the displeasure of the Protector, who was every day growing more imperious, and appearing inconsistent in departing from the tenour of a commission which he had assumed in his public

capacity. The affair was relinquished; the Protector having his attention drawn to the suppression of some extensive civil commotions, and the visitors having another commission to execute, as presidents at a public disputation appointed to be held at Cambridge, as there had been one a little before at Oxford, relating to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Two positions were to be discussed, and Ridley was to be Moderator. 1. Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of scripture, nor can thereof be necessarily collected, nor yet confirmed by the consents of the ancient fathers for these one thousand years past. 2. In the Lord's Supper is none other oblation or sacrifice, than one only remembrance of Christ's death, and of thanksgiving. The first disputation was held on Thursday, 20th of June; Dr. Madew of Clare Hall, Respondent; Dr. Glyn, Mr. Langdale, Sedgwick, and Young, Opponents. The second, on Monday, 24th; Dr. Glyn, respondent; Perne, Grindal, Gest, and Pilkington, opponents. The third, on Thursday, 27th; Mr. Perne, respondent; Parker, Pollard, Vavassor, and Young opponents.

The Bishop determined against transubstantiation on five principal grounds. 1. *The authority, majesty, and verity of Holy Scripture.* Christ says, "I will not hereafter drink of the fruit of the vine." St. Paul and St. Luke call it "bread" after consecration. They speak of "breaking," which agrees with bread, not with the body of Christ. It was to be done "in remembrance of him." "This is the bread that came down from heaven." "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." 2. *The most certain testimonies of the ancient catholic fathers.* They call the element bread after consecration, sacramental

bread, after the figure of Christ's body; and declare, that bread still continues after consecration, and that the substances of bread and wine remain. 3. *The nature of a sacrament.* Natural symbols represent like spiritual effects, which, in the Lord's Supper, are unity, nutrition, and conversion. They who take away the union of the grains making one bread, of which partaking we become one mystical body of Christ; or they who deny the nutrition, or substance of those grains, by which, our bodies being nourished, is represented the nourishment of our souls by the body of Christ; these take away the similitude between the bread and the body of Christ, and destroy the nature of a sacrament. As neither is there any thing to signify our being turned into Christ's body, if there be no conversion of the bread into the substance of our bodies. 4. *The tendency of transubstantiation to destroy one of the natures in Christ.* They who affirm that Christ is corporeally present, take from him the reality of human nature. Eutyches granted the divine nature in Christ, but denied the human; and the maintainers of transubstantiation ascribe that to the human nature, which belongs to the divine alone. 5. *The article of our creed, "He ascended into heaven."* Austin saith, 'The Lord is above, even to the end of the world; but yet the verity of the Lord is here also: for his body wherein he rose again must needs be in one place, but his verity is spread abroad every where.' Vigilius observes, 'Concerning his flesh, we look for him from heaven; whom as concerning the Word, or divine nature, we believe to be with us on earth.' 'The course of scripture must be searched of us, and many testimonies must be gathered to shew plainly what a wickedness and sacrilege it is, to refer those things to the property of the divine

nature, which do only belong to the nature of the flesh: and on the other hand, to apply those things to the nature of the flesh, which do properly belong to the divine nature.'

Against the oblation of Christ in the Sacrament he determined on the two grounds of scriptural declaration and Patristic theology. He obtained much credit for the ability displayed on this occasion. Langdale, one of the disputants, who was promoted afterwards by Queen Mary to the archdeaconry of Chichester for his popish zeal, composed a pretended refutation of Ridley's determination; but with this suspicion of unfairness in his account of the dispute, that though he had the King's licence to print it, yet he did not avail himself of that privilege till after the good prelate's martyrdom. However, Pilkington, another of the disputants, afterward Bishop of Durham, declared that Ridley was so lucid in his summing up, that some of the hearers would have turned Archbishop Cranmer's work on that subject into latin for more extensive usefulness.

The Bishop printed the injunctions which he had drawn up for the visitation of his diocese; enjoining that none should receive the communion, but such as could readily confess the articles of the creed, on request of the minister: that the homilies should be read orderly and wholly, and that the liturgy should be used in every church on Wednesdays and Fridays: and that none should maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, bead-rolls, pilgrimages, relics, rubrics, primers, justification of man by his own works, holy bread, psalms, ashes, candles, creeping to the cross, hallowing of fire, or altars, or such like abuses.

From this account of his public proceedings the reader may be gratified with some notice of his deport-

ment in private life. As he owed his advancement to the see of London to the deprivation of Bishop Bonner, who was sent to the Tower, so he treated the females of the deprived prelate's family with a kindness and generosity which greatly alleviated their reverse of circumstances. Mrs. Bonner, the Bishop's aged parent, he used affectionately to call his own mother, always placing her at the upper end of his table at Fulham palace, and not suffering her to be removed for any other guests, however high in rank, pleasantly observing, that that chair belonged by right and custom to his mother, Mrs. Bonner. He also supported, in like manner, a sister and niece of the Bishop. When Dr. Heath was deprived of the see of Worcester, he was entertained at the same palace for a year and a half. 'For his own family,' says Fuller, 'while he resided at Fulham, his manner was to read to them every day at the time of morning prayer, a lecture out of the New Testament, which he constantly performed, beginning with the Acts of the Apostles, and so going on through all St. Paul's epistles: to those of his family he used also to read over the 101st Psalm; thereby to admonish them what they ought to be, and what he expected from them, should they continue in his service: on such of them as could read he bestowed Testaments; hiring them also with rewards to get some principal chapters thereof by heart, and especially that of Acts the thirteenth. By this his care came his house to be so well ordered, that it seemed a school or nursery of virtue, and pattern of piety and good life unto others, as himself also was to it.

'For he was a man of so holy, just, sober, continent, and generally unblameable life, that his most malicious and mischievous adversaries could find nothing therein

to tax him withal, though challenged solemnly so to do. His very outward making promised a well composed inside; for he was a very comely person, and of well-proportioned limbs and lineaments: nor did his outside deceive those that then conjectured well of him; it pleasing God even outwardly to imprint in the face and frame of his body a living portraiture of those endowments wherewith the inner man he hath adorned; yea, what his looks testified his life gave witness to, wherein all manner of sound piety and true virtue did most illusrriously shine forth.

'For matter of piety he was much addicted to contemplation and prayer, wherein his common and constant course (if not otherwise interrupted) was this. So soon as he was up in the morning, (nor was he any sluggard, a little sleep served him) and his apparel once on, he retired himself again to his bedchamber, and there on his knees he spent some half an hour in prayer: that done, he betook himself to his study, where he continued till ten of the clock, at which time he came to the common prayer, which was used daily at his house: after that he dined, feeding temperately, not using much talk at table; but that he used, sober, grave, wise, and discreet,—sometimes also not unpleasant, if occasion were. After dinner (which he sat not long at) he spent about an hour usually either in conference with others, or in a game or two at chess, the only recreation he made use of for the refreshing of himself: then he returned again to his study, where he sat, unless suitors or some other affairs knockt him off, until five of the clock, his constant hour for the afternoon common prayer. That finished, he supped, and after supper having passed over about an hour before, he returned the third time to his study, continuing there till eleven

of the clock at night, his usual bed hour, which yet he went not to before he had spent some time, as in the morning, in private prayer by himself. Thus used he to make his religious addresses unto God, both as a key to open the door in the morning to his daily employments, and as a bolt to shut and close them all up at evening again.'[1]

A little before the death of King Edward (an event which could not but excite painful apprehensions in all the friends of the reformed doctrine, however they might resign themselves to the dispensations of that God, who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will) our good prelate preached in the royal chapel, enlarging on the blessings of charity; and his Majesty was so much affected, that immediately after the sermon he sent for his Lordship, whom he commanded to sit down and be covered. Recapitulating the heads of the discourse, the King required him to give him some directions for the accomplishment of his duty. Overcome by the tenderness and humility of his youthful Sovereign, Ridley could not refrain from tears; but desired time to consider of the particular channels in which the royal bounty might flow to the best advantage, begging leave to consult the Corporation of London on the subject. His Majesty accordingly wrote them a letter by the Bishop, who returned to him with a scheme for three foundations;—one for the sick and wounded, another for the wilfully idle or mad, and a third for orphans. Such was the origin of the hospitals of St. Bartholomew, and Bridewell, and the church of the Grey Friars.[2]

[1] Abel redivivus, Pp. 194, 195.

[2] Warner's Eccl. Hist. V. ii. p. 307.—Guthrie's Hist. of England, V. 3. p. 119.

The King died in 1553, and was succeeded by his sister Mary; when there began what is called, in the emphatic language of the old divines, a sifting-time for the floor of Jehovah. Ridley was personally obnoxious to the new Queen, not only on account of his decided protestantism, but also for a sermon which he had formerly preached against her, and in favour of Lady Jane Grey; and he was among the earliest victims of her implacable revenge and insensate bigotry. Lady Jane was beheaded; the Duke of Northumberland and his son, and the Duke of Norfolk and his brother, shared her fate, for attempting to place her on that throne to which she had been destined by the late king; the bishops Gardiner and Bonner were released from incarceration, and the latter restored to the See of London. Popery was re-established, the statutes against heresy revived, and Gardiner commissioned by the Queen to persecute Protestants in the most rigorous manner. He was particularly ordered to purify the church from all married bishops and priests: in consequence of which, four bishops were deprived for marriage, as well as three others for preaching erroneous doctrines; while, out of sixteen thousand of the inferior clergy, twelve thousand were ejected for entrance into the conjugal relation.

After lying with some fellow-sufferers in the Tower, Ridley was removed to Oxford with Cranmer and Latimer to hold a disputation with certain Romish theologians. They were denied the convenience of their books and papers, the conversation of each other, and any mutual assistance in the conference; for each was to have his day separate from the other. Ridley was lodged in the house of one Irish, mayor of the city, to whom the Queen sent her precept to bring the prisoners

into the public schools, at the times appointed for the disputations, calling Ridley a doctor, and Latimer only clerk. 'This disputation,' observes Fuller, 'was intended as a preparative or prologue to the tragedy of these bishops' deaths; as it were to dry their bodies the more aforehand, that afterwards they might burn the brighter and clearer for the same.'

When Ridley's turn arrived, he found that under the semblance of justice he was called, as a faithful servant of a suffering master, to endure trial of insult and cruel mocking. He was required to subscribe certain articles, concerning the real presence of Christ's natural body and blood, and the utter abolition of the substance of bread and wine in the Sacrament, and its character as a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead. He refused; affirming them to be false, and declaring his readiness to deliver his sentiments upon them in a written document on the following evening. He was then asked, whether he were willing to dispute upon them. To which he answered, that so long as God gave him life, he should have, not his heart only, but his tongue and his pen to defend his truth: requiring, however, in the name of common justice, leisure for the preparation and arrangement of his arguments, and the opportunity of consulting authorities. They allowed him to write his mind on these subjects against the next day, and to prepare for disputation against the Tuesday following, the third day from that interview. He began, on the appointed occasion, by a solemn declaration, that though he was once of a different opinion, he had not changed it from any temporal consideration, but purely from a regard to truth. And since it was the cause of God he was now to maintain, he protested that he would have leave to add to, or alter, any argument,

as he should see cause for it; and desired he might be permitted to speak without interruption. All this was promised him, but not complied with; and though all his opponents assailed him by turns, and sometimes several together, interrupting instead of listening, reviling instead of reasoning, and railing instead of arguing, and even exciting the rude multitude to hiss and clap their hands against him, so that his answers were frequently overpowered by their clamour; yet he was enabled to maintain his ground with a calm dignity, and to reply to their vexatious cavils or scurrilous abuse with readiness and acuteness: till the prolocutor terminated the proceedings in this unjustifiable manner:—'You see the obstinate, vain-glorious, crafty, and inconstant mind of this man; but you also see that the force of truth cannot be shaken; therefore, cry out with me, Truth has the victory!'

The three bishops were adjudged to be obstinate heretics, and declared to be no longer members of the church; to which they all objected. Ridley told the commissioners, that although he was not of their company, yet he doubted not but his name was written in another place, whither their sentence would send him sooner than by the course of nature he should have gone. They were then separated, and remanded to their respective prisons; Ridley writing to the prolocutor, to complain of the irregular manner in which the disputation had been conducted; in which he had been prevented from making a full defence; and desiring to have a copy of the report by the notaries; which request was not granted. On the Friday following he was again brought before them, and, upon refusal to recant, was sent back to the mayor's house, where he was more strictly watched than the other two; which severity he imputed to the bigotry and ill-temper

of his keeper's wife, who thought she did God service by her harsh treatment of him; for the mayor himself was a humane character, who was hindered from showing him kindness by the influence of this woman, and the tyranny of the commissioners. The resignation with which he bore his confinement and privations appears from some letters which he wrote to different friends, and are transcribed by Fox.

He continued a prisoner from the time of the disputation in April, 1554, to the thirtieth of September in the ensuing year, when he was cited, with Cranmer and Latimer, to appear in the divinity-school, before the royal commissioners, the bishops of Gloucester, Lincoln, and Bristol. When the commission was read, purporting to be held by authority of Cardinal Pole, the papal legate, Ridley put on his cap; and, being admonished to take it off, he said, 'I do not put it on out of any contempt of your Lordships, or derogation of the personal dignity of the Cardinal, as related to the royal family, and a man of learning and virtue; but to show that I acknowledge the authority of no court which is derived from the Pope.' Then the president ordering a beadle to uncover him, he bowed his head and quietly submitted. Some articles on the Romish side of the controversy were then read to him, on which he was required to express his assent or dissent by eight o'clock the next morning in writing; but he was informed that an answer by word of mouth was expected from him immediately. He replied, that he had presumed of their gentleness, that they would have given him time, as they had before said, until the morrow; that, on good consideration, he might make a determinate answer. They said, that any answer which he might give at that time should not be prejudicial

to any given afterward; but he should be at liberty to add, detract, alter, or vary as he pleased. He observed, that former promises had not been kept with him; but he would, nevertheless, answer as required: on which he repeated his arguments against the obnoxious doctrines of the Vatican. He was at length committed afresh to the custody of the mayor, and Latimer was called in to experience similar treatment. On his appearance the next day, he delivered in his answer in writing to the same purport, with the judgment on the articles explained and confirmed, not by Scripture alone, but also by the testimonies of the Fathers, demanding that it should be publicly read. This he could not obtain, excepting as to a line or two here and there; they affirming that it contained words of blasphemy—and he averring that, saving a few words, there was nothing in it but the sayings of the ancient doctors, confirming his assertions. He was hardly permitted to speak, when they found the strain he meant to pursue; they continually interrupted him, and in their malice even counted with their fingers how many words he had uttered. At length they excommunicated him with the greater excommunication; and, having passed sentence of condemnation against him, turned him over to the secular power.[1]

On the fifteenth of October, he was formally degraded by the Bishop of Gloucester, at which time he requested that prelate to second his petition to the Queen, that the tenants to whom he had granted leases (among whom was his own sister) as diocesan of London, might receive no damage from his change of circumstance. Dr. Brookes acceded to this request, acknow-

[1] Warner, p. 378.—Abel rediv. p. 202.

ledging that it was but just. The proposal, it seems, was without effect; for the wretched and bigoted Bonner, whose mother and sister had been treated by Ridley with such marked sympathy and delicate attention, acted in a rude and unfeeling manner towards the sister and brother-in-law of that godly martyr, turning them, against all law and conscience, out of the keeping of a park which he had bestowed on them; by which it may be presumed that others fared no better.

Much persuasion was used to induce Ridley to accept the Queen's mercy, which he refused, and a warrant was sent down for the execution of him and Latimer.[1] On the evening of the fifteenth, preparatory to his execution, which was fixed for the next day, he performed his ablutions with great cheerfulness, inviting those who supped with him to his *wedding* on the following morning; asking his brother-in-law, Mr. Shipside, whether he thought his wife would be able to support the scene, and 'if she could find in her heart to be there;' to which that gentleman answered, 'he durst say she could with all her heart.' This assurance gave him great comfort. Mrs. Irish was of the party, and could not refrain from tears, any more than the others, now that his end was so near; her tenderness as a woman overcoming her insensibility as a Romanist; but he requested them all to be tranquillized, and even to rejoice with him, observing, that though his breakfast was likely to be sharp and painful, he was sure his supper would be sweet and pleasant. His brother-in-law offered to watch with him through the night; but he declined the proffered kindness, telling him, that he intended to go to bed, hoping to sleep as quietly that

[1] Burnet's Abridg. of the Reform. B. 3. p. 265.

night as ever he did in his life. This composure and cheerful resignation were the more remarkable, as during his confinement he had written to Latimer to strengthen him by his exhortations: 'I pray you, good father, let me have something more from you to comfort my stomach, for except the Lord assist me in his service, I shall play but the part of a white-livered knight; but he can make a coward in his cause to fight like a man.'

He came forth accordingly, very neatly attired, and turning round saw the venerable Latimer following, to whom he said, 'O! be you there?' 'Aye!' replied the old man, 'coming after you as fast as I can!' They proceeded to the place of execution, which was a low spot of ground on the north of the city, near Baliol College. When they came up to the stake, they embraced each other with great affection; and Ridley cheerfully addressing his fellow-sufferer, 'Be of good heart, brother; for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else enable us to bear it.' He then knelt down by the stake, kissed it, and prayed very fervently: after which, rising and beginning to address the spectators, some persons ran up to him, and stopped his mouth with their hands. As soon as he was unclothed, he stood on a stone near the stake, and ejaculated, 'O heavenly Father, I give thee hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death! I beseech thee, Lord God, have mercy on this realm of England, and deliver it from all its enemies!'

Dr. Smith, a divine of no fixed principles, who had recanted in the former reign, now made a long and bitter invective against them, in the shape of a discourse, to which they were not permitted to reply,

unless they meant to declare their recantation. 'No!' said Ridley, 'I will never deny my Lord, nor the truths of which I am persuaded; but God's will be done.' They were directed to adjust themselves to the stake, and as a smith was knocking in the staple, which fastened the chain round their bodies, he said to him, 'Good man, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its course.' Mr. Shipside bringing a bag of gunpowder to tie round his neck, he inquired what it was, and was told, 'Gunpowder.' 'Then,' said he, 'I take it as being sent of God, and as such I receive it.' When the flame began to ascend he cried with a loud voice, 'Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my spirit. Lord, receive my soul!' The powder catching fire, soon put Latimer out of his pain. The flame rising slowly, on account of too much fuel, Ridley desired them, for Christ's sake to let the fire come to him; which his brother-in-law misunderstanding, heaped on more faggots, and lengthened his sufferings; so that his legs were almost consumed before his body was scorched. At length the upper part of his frame fell down into the fire, and ended his torment.

Lord Dacre, to whom he was related, would have given ten thousand pounds for the preservation of his life; but the Queen was deaf to his solicitation, notwithstanding he had behaved towards her with great kindness, in the reign of King Edward. He had a kind of presentiment of his end; for one day when he was crossing the Thames, a tempest arose on a sudden, and the company in the boat expected to perish; 'Take heart,' said he, 'for this boat carrieth a bishop that must be burned, and not drowned.' In the prospect of his sufferings, he wrote to some friends in this strain of triumphant piety: 'I warn you, my friends, that ye

be not astonished at the manner of my dissolution; for I assure you that I think it the greatest honour that ever I was called to in all my life; and therefore I thank the Lord God heartily for it, that it hath pleased him of his great mercy to call me to this high honour, to suffer willingly death for his sake, and in his cause; wherefore all you that be my true lovers and friends rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Son's sake, my Saviour and Redeemer, Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call me; being else, without his gracious goodness, in myself but a sinful and vile wretch; to call me (I say) to this high dignity of his true prophets, faithful apostles, and of his holy and chosen martyrs, to die, and to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his eternal and everlasting truth.'

His anxiety to advance faithful ministers was one of his most honourable traits. He wrote an excellent epistle to Sir John Cheke, one of the preceptors, and a privy counsellor to Edward VI. in behalf of his chaplain, Mr. Grindal, who afterwards became archbishop, adorning the mitre as the true friend of Protestant sentiment.

'Master Cheke, I wish you grace and peace. Sir, in God's cause, for God's sake, and in his name, I beseech you of your help and furtherance towards God's word. I did talk with you of late what case I was in concerning my chaplains. I have gotten the good will and grant to be with me, of three preachers, men of good learning, and (as I am persuaded) of excellent virtue; which are all able, both with life and learning, to set forth God's word in London, and in the whole diocese of the same, where is most need of all parts in England; for from thence goeth example (as you know) into all

the rest of the King's Majesty's whole realm. The men's names be these; Mr. Grindal, whom you know to be a man of virtue and learning: Mr. Bradford, a man by whom (as I am assuredly informed) God hath and doth work wonders, in setting forth of his word: the third is a preacher, the which for detecting and confuting the Anabaptists and Papists, is enforced now to bear Christ's cross. The two first be scholars in the university; the third is as poor as either of the other twain. Now there is fallen a prebend in Paul's, called Cantrells, by the death of one Layton. The prebend is an honest man's living, of thirty-four pounds and better, in the King's books. I would, with all my heart, give it to Mr. Grindal, and so I should have him continually with me, and in my diocese to preach.

'But alas! Sir, I am letted by the means (I fear me) of such as do not fear God. One Mr. William Thomas, one of the clerks of the council, hath in times past set the council upon me, to have me to grant that Layton might have alienated the said prebend unto him and his heirs for ever. God was mine aid and defender, that I did not consent unto his ungodly enterprize. Yet I was then so handled before the council, that I granted, that whenever it should fall, I should not give it before I should make the King's Majesty privy unto it. Now Layton is departed, and the prebend is fallen, and certain of the council (no doubt by this ungodly man's means) have written unto me, to stay the collation. And whereas he despaireth, that ever I would assent that a preacher's living should be bestowed on him, he hath procured letters unto me, subscribed with certain of the council's hands, that now the King's Majesty hath determined it unto the furniture of his highness's stable. Alas! Sir, this is a heavy hearing.

When papistry was taught, there was nothing too little for the teachers. When the Bishop gave his benefices unto idiots, unlearned, ungodly, for kindred, for pleasure, for service, and other worldly respects, all was then well allowed. Now when a poor living is to be given unto an excellent clerk, a man known and tried to have both discretion and also virtue; and such a one as, before God, I do not know a man yet unplaced and unprovided for, more meet to set forth God's word in all England: when a poor living, I say, which is founded for a preacher, is to be given unto such a man, that then an ungodly person shall procure in this sort letters to stop and let the same; alas! Mr. Cheke, this seemeth unto me to be a right heavy hearing. Is this the fruit of the Gospel? Speak, Mr. Cheke, speak for God's sake, in God's cause, unto whomsoever you think you may do any good withal. And if you will not speak, then I beseech you let these my letters speak unto Mr. Gates, to Mr. Wrothe, to Mr. Cecil, whom all I do take for men that do fear God.

'It was said here constantly, my lord Chamberlain to have been departed: Sir, though the day be delayed, yet he hath no pardon of long life, and therefore I do beseech his good Lordship, and so many as shall read these letters, if they fear God, to help that neither horse, nor yet dog, be suffered to devour the poor livings appointed and founded by godly ordinance to the ministers of God's word. The causes of conscience, which do move me to speak and write thus, are not only those which I declared once in the cause of this prebend before the King's Majesty's council, which now I let pass; but also now the man, Mr. Grindal, unto whom I would give this prebend, doth move me very much; for he is a man known to be both

of virtue, honesty, discretion, wisdom, and learning. And besides all this, I have a better opinion of the King's Majesty's honourable council, than—(although some of them have subscribed, at this their clerk's crafty and ungodly suit, to such a letter) than, I say, they will let, and not suffer (after the request made to them) the living appointed and founded for a preacher, to be bestowed upon so honest and well learned a man.

'Wherefore, for God's sake, I beseech you all, help, that with the favour of the council, I may have knowledge of the King's Majesty's good pleasure, to give this preacher's living unto Mr. Grindal. Of late there have been letters, directed from the King's Majesty and his honourable council unto all the Bishops, whereby we be charged and commanded, both in our own persons, and also to cause our preachers and ministers, especially to cry out against *the insatiable serpent of covetousness*, whereby is said to be such a greediness amongst the people, that each one goeth about to devour another; and to threaten them with God's grievous plagues, both now presently thrown upon them, and that shall be likewise in the world to come. Sir, what preachers shall I get to open and set forth such matters, and so as the King's Majesty and the council do command them to be set forth, if either ungodly men, or unreasonable beasts, be suffered to pull away and devour the good and godly learned preacher's livings? Thus I wish you in God ever well to fare, and to help Christ's cause, as you would have help of him at your most need. From Fulham this present, the 23d of July, 1551.

'Your's in Christ,

'NICHOLAS LONDON.'

To Mr. Cecil, whose name is mentioned in the above letter, he wrote in an animated manner on occasion of the grant of the King's Palace of Bridewell for a charitable purpose.

'Good Mr. Cecil,

'I must be a suitor unto you in your good master Christ's cause: I beseech you to be good to him. The matter is, Sir, alas! he hath lain too long abroad (as you do know) without lodging, in the streets of London, both hungry, naked, and cold. Now, thanks be to Almighty God! the citizens are willing to refresh him, and to give him both meat, drink, clothing, and firing: but alas! Sir, they lack lodging for him. For in some one house I dare say they are fain to lodge three families under one roof. Sir, there is a wide, large, empty house of the King's Majesty's, called Bridewell, that would wonderfully well serve to lodge Christ in, if he might find such good friends in the court to procure in his cause. Surely I have such a good opinion of the King's Majesty, that if Christ had such faithful and hearty friends, who would heartily speak for him, he should undoubtedly speed at the King's Majesty's hands. Sir, I have promised my brethren the citizens to move you, because I do take you for one that feareth God, and would that Christ should lie no more abroad in the streets.'

The memorials of such men as Latimer and Ridley are invaluable records of the English church. They afford the most edifying examples of unwearied zeal and unshaken resolution in the cause of God and his truth. They esteemed their lives as nought, when called upon to sacrifice them for a pure and unadulterated gospel. They were the 'forlorn hope' of the protestant army, placing the banner of reformation on the citadel

of the church, amid a galling fire of Romish artillery. Their devoted heroism puts to shame the puny effort, the half-hearted endeavour, the calculating policy, of too many of their degenerate successors, who shrink from the comparatively light trial of enduring shame and reproach for the name of Jesus, and are too often found yielding an unjustifiable compliance to the maxims and pursuits of an ungodly world, to evade the charge of an ascetic singularity.

'Dwell upon the exemplary lives of these transcendant saints,' observes one of the prefatory writers to Clarke's 'Marrow of ecclesiastical history,' 'till you be changed into the same image. Their love to Christ, his truth, and people, should enlarge your hearts; their zeal should enflame you; their magnanimity should encourage you; their humility should abase you; their patience should calm you; their labours should quicken your diligence; their temperance should moderate you in the use of all sensual contentments; their confidence should confirm your fiducial dependance upon gospel-promises; their contempt of the world should call you off yet further from all empty sublunaries; their high estimation of the Holy Scriptures, should heighten your reverent respect of them; their many assaults from Satan, and sufferings from men, in estate, liberty, credit, and body, should embolden and arm you in evil times; their experiences of support under grievances, of supplies in necessities, of comfort in crosses, of deliverance in straits, of success in services, and of triumphing perseverance, notwithstanding all oppositions from within and from without; should hold up your faint hopes, unweariedly to wait for the full accomplishment of all the precious promises of the covenant grace in Jesus Christ.'

'Confine not your desires, designs, endeavours, to any degree of spiritual goodness attained by the fairest Saint on this side heaven. For no example (Christ's only excepted) did ever reach that rule, according to which we are always obliged to order our hearts and lives. A man may fully fall in with the forwardest follower of Jesus Christ, and yet fall short of conformity to God's commandments. That blessed Apostle, who propounds himself a pattern for imitation, having his conversation in heaven; yet speaks thus of himself, *Not as though I were already perfect.* And that beloved disciple John tells us, that every one who hath a well-grounded lively hope of heaven, *purifieth himself as Christ is pure.*'

Cranmer.

Thomas Cranmer, 'Primate of all England,' and first protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, was born on the second of July, in the year 1489, at Aslacton in Nottinghamshire. He was of honourable Norman extraction, and the seat of the family had been Cranmer Hall, in Leicestershire. His father, who gave him his own baptismal name, died when he was yet in early childhood; but he found a guardian and guide in his widowed mother, Agnes, of the race of the Hatfields, who sent him, at the age of fourteen, to Cambridge, where his time was wasted in the subtleties of the schools till he was twenty-two. His good sense and discrimination led him afterwards to the study of the purest Latin authors, while he read at the same time with pleasure and profit the writings of Faber and Erasmus. He took the degree of Master of Arts, and was elected Fellow of Jesus College. The theological controversies in Germany led him moreover to a diligent perusal of scripture; and when the English monarch thought fit to write against Luther, he was induced to examine some productions of that eminent reformer; which scrutiny was attended with a conviction of the justness of his reasoning, though, through that timidity and prudence which marked his character in after-life, he did not openly avow his sentiments. He was rather

observant than communicative. He was employed in laying up a stock of useful knowledge; extracting or making notes of the valuable thoughts of different authors in the common-place book, and marking the numbers of the divisions or pages in such works as had paragraphs too long for transcription, but whose substance he was desirous of committing to memory.[1]

In 1525 he married a gentleman's daughter. This measure, while it showed his protestant turn of mind, lost him his fellowship; but he was appointed divinity-leader in Buckingham College; where he became very obnoxious to the idle and ignorant friars, who, because his wife boarded with the hostess of the Dolphin Inn, to whom she was related, and he went thither frequently to visit her, spread a malicious report that he was no better than an ostler. His wife dying in child-bed, the college did him the singular honour of once more choosing him Fellow, though it was contrary to the rules of the University.[2] This favour he so gratefully acknowledged, that when he was nominated to a Fellowship in Cardinal Wolsey's new foundation at Oxford, though the salary was much more considerable, and the road to preferment more accessible by the favour of that dignitary, he preferred a continuance with that foundation by whose members he had been so kindly distinguished. In 1528 he commenced doctor in divinity. 'At that time many unworthy scholars scrambled up to the highest degrees, whose scarlet gowns might seem to blush at their wearers' ignorance.'[3] The University gave him a proof of its esteem, by appointing him one of the examiners of candidates in

[1] Fox; Strype; Melchior Adam.
[2] Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, 102.
[3] Abel redivivus, p. 224.

divinity, whom he rejected as insufficient, when he found them unacquainted with scripture; advising them to apply themselves closely to the study of the sacred writings; as it was shameful for a professor of divinity to be unskilled in that book, wherein lay the knowledge of God, and the grounds of that very science which they professed. 'Herein,' says Fuller, 'he carried himself with such remarkable moderation, neither over remiss to encourage any unworthiness to presume, nor too rigid to dishearten the endeavours of the ingenuous, that it is questionable whether his carriage brought more profit to private persons, or credit to the University. Some whose graces (for degrees) were for the present stopt by him, returned afterwards to thank him; because (preferring rather to displease than hurt them) the gentle check he gave them occasioned their greater diligence in the race of learning.'

An epidemic, raging at Cambridge, occasioned the students to quit their colleges, and Cranmer removed to Waltham Abbey, to the residence of Mr. Cressy, of whose lady he was a relative, and to whose sons he was tutor. This movement led to his acquaintance with his Sovereign, and his high ecclesiastical preferment. Henry at that season was impatient to obtain the divorce of his marriage of Catharine. He had sent agents to Rome to expedite the affair; and the Pope had commissioned Cardinals Campeggio and Wolsey to judge the cause in England with legatine authority. The court proceeded with deliberation; the canonists and civilians having their private ends to answer by lengthening the forms and examinations, and the queen on her part protesting against the authority of the court and the justice of the trial. She appealed

to the Pope himself, and demanded that her cause should be heard at Rome, to which the King would not consent, and Campeggio left England.

For the double purpose of recreation and private conference, the King removed to Waltham with some confidential attendants, among whom were the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with the Doctors Gardiner and Fox, his secretary and almoner. The two latter taking up their quarters at Mr. Cressy's, met with Cranmer, and knowing his reputation for learning and piety, inquired his opinion on their master's cause which was dividing the nation into two parties. He showed at first a disinclination to give his judgment on so delicate an affair: but on their importunate request, he replied, 'I cannot say much on the sudden in so weighty a business without study and meditation; but, in my opinion, seeing the King is in so great trouble of mind and conscience, nothing can more increase it than so great delays, and wandering in Romish suits; in which, whosoever are once entangled, can scarce ever extricate themselves out of the snares. I think it better therefore, that laying aside all delays, and court suits, wherein the King hath been too long tossed with great affliction of mind, the judgment of divines, both in our own and foreign Universities be searched out, which may be strengthened with the law of God; and as they shall by God's word prove it lawful or unlawful, so let the King proceed, and have the cause then determined in his own country, whereby he may live in lawful matrimony, with a cheerful mind and quiet conscience, which is much to be desired by all his faithful subjects.'[1]

The next day they reported to Henry, that they had

[1] Clarke, p. 242.

been discoursing on the topic with a new divine. The subtle Gardiner, who suspected that the counsel given by Cranmer would be agreeable to the monarch, represented the particulars of the interview in such a way as to convey the impression that this counsel had originated with himself: but Henry, who had sufficient sagacity to perceive the superior ingenuousness of Fox, asked him if Cranmer were still in the neighbourhood, and, being answered in the affirmative, ordered him to be sent for. 'That man,' said he, 'has got the right sow by the ear!' If I had known his opinion two years ago, it would have saved me infinite expense and anxiety.' This exultation, expressed by the monarch in a low proverb, which was then as common in the palace as the cot, was very natural, and accordant with the King's character. He was very partial to the agitation of casuistical points in divinity; and he was disgusted with the chicanery exercised by the papal agents, suspecting withal that Wolsey, a man whom he had loaded with favours, was playing a double game, and courting the Queen's friends on the continent; while he was not without hope that some theologians would decide on the case according to his wishes, and that others might be influenced by himself and such princes as were associated with him in political sentiment in giving their suffrages. When Cranmer came into his presence, he made many apologies for his presumption in delivering a judgment on so important a question, but repeated the advice he had already given. Henry desired him to draw up his opinion in writing, in the form of an argument, and committed him to the care of the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, named Sir Thomas Boleyn, who then dwelt at Durham House, and was judged a fit person for Cranmer to

reside with, as he had been employed in embassies to Rome and Germany about the same matter, and might assist him with his advice. As this nobleman was the father of the Lady Anne, whom Henry wished to espouse, he could not but feel great interest on the occasion; there was, however, besides, a growing dislike to papal encroachment and arrogance: and it is recorded of Sir Thomas Wyat, a poet and wit of the court, that he humourously remarked, on understanding that the King's conscience was troubled at having married his brother's widow, 'Strange, that a man cannot repent him of his sin, without leave from the Pope!' In engaging therefore in this argument, which he did with all seriousness, he undertook a part gratifying to his Sovereign, and pleasing to many of the nobility and gentry, because it went to take the cause out of the hands of his Holiness.

Henry soon afterwards nominated him his chaplain, gave him a benefice, and advanced him to the Archdeaconry of Taunton. Cranmer so ably defended his argument at Cambridge, that he brought over many of the contrary part to his opinion; particularly five of those six doctors, who had before given in their judgment to the King, for the legality of the papal dispensation in the celebration of the marriage. The argument was taken from Scripture; and partly from fathers, councils, and schoolmen.

From Scripture it was alleged: 'That the prohibited degrees in Leviticus were not only obligatory to the Jewish nation, but moral precepts and the primitive laws of marriage; as appeared from the judgments denounced against the Canaanites for the violation of them, and their being said to have polluted the land thereby; which cannot be accounted for, if these were

only positive Jewish constitutions. That among those prohibited degrees, the marriage with the brother's wife was one; see Leviticus xviii. 16; and xx. 21. And that the breach of these precepts was called an unclean thing, wickedness, and an abomination. That the dispensation in Deuteronomy, of marrying with the brother's wife, only showed that the foundation of the law was not in its own nature immutable, but might be dispensed with by immediate divine revelation; but that it did not follow, that the Pope by his ordinary authority could dispense with it: And to pretend the sense of the precept to be only a prohibition of having the father's wife in his life-time, was a poor low cavil, it being universally unlawful to have any man's wife whatever, while he was yet living.'

'The constant tradition of the church was clear against the lawfulness of the marriage. Origen on Leviticus xx.—Chrysostom on Matthew xxii.—and Basil in his epistle to Diodorus, expressly asserts these precepts to be obligatory under the gospel; and in the Latin church, St. Ambrose, Jerome, and Austin, were of the same opinion. And Tertullian, who lived within an age after the apostles, in his fourth book against Marcion, affirms, that the law of not marrying the brother's wife doth still oblige Christians. Pope Gregory the Great had given the same determination, in answer to Austin, the first Archbishop of Canterbury; and directed him to advise all, who had their brothers' wife, to look on the marriage as a most grievous sin, and to separate from her society. Other Popes had declared themselves of the same judgment; and particularly Innocent the Third had wrote with great vehemence against such marriages.'

To these were added many testimonies from the

writers of later ages, and the schoolmen and canonists; but the judgment of the purest antiquity being so full and express, they may be omitted; with the single observation, that on the contrary side none could be produced, before Wickliffe and Cajetan, who looked on these prohibitions as only branches of the judicial law of the Jews.

'The second canon of the council of Neo-cæsarea decrees, that if a woman were married to two brothers, she should be excommunicated till death; and that the man, who married his brother's wife, should be anathematized: which was confirmed in a council held by Pope Gregory the Second. The fifty-first canon of the council of Agde reckons the marriage with a brother's wife among incestuous marriages; and decrees that all such marriages are null, and the parties so contracting to be excommunicated till they separate from each other. And the contrary doctrine and error of Wickliffe had been condemned, not only in convocation at London and Oxford, but in the general council of Constance.'

Cranmer was now despatched to Rome to justify his argument before the Pope. He was accompanied by the Earl of Wiltshire as Envoy, and the Doctors Lee, Stokesley, Trygonnel, Carne, and Bennet. When the embassy was introduced to Clement the Seventh, a circumstance occurred, ludicrous in itself, but which must have shocked the etiquette of the Romish court, and was sufficiently remarkable at that period. His Holiness presenting his foot to be kissed, a spaniel which had followed the Earl snapt at it and caught it in his mouth; on which the Envoy and the rest declined making the ordinary humiliating salute, and the embarrassed pontiff was fain to draw back his leg.

They expostulated with the Pope in the name of Henry, insisting on the prerogative of the crown of England, and that their master would not permit any citation to be made of him to a foreign court, and therefore would not consent that his cause should be tried at Rome. The Earl presented Cranmer's writing to the Pope, telling him, that learned men had accompanied him from England, who were prepared to defend its contents against all opponents. His Holiness repeatedly promised to appoint a day for the disputation; but as often broke his word. According to the usual subtlety of the Romish court, trying to bribe in its favour those whom it secretly feared, the Pope constituted him his Penitentiary-general in England, Ireland, and Wales. The Envoy and his train returned home, leaving Cranmer to make good his challenge, who so far prevailed, that they were brought to allow, even in the chief court of the Rota, that the marriage was contrary to the law of God; but the dispensing power of the Vicar of Christ upon earth was too advantageous a tenet to be parted with on any account.[1]

The King sent a commission to Cranmer to proceed to Vienna, and endeavour to conciliate the Emperor, to whom as the near relation of Catharine, the cause could not but prove peculiarly obnoxious. There he offered to dispute on the subject with any divines whom Charles V. might think proper to appoint. That monarch directed Cornelius Agrippa, his privy-counsellor and judge of the prerogative court, to give the English theologian a meeting. Agrippa was a lawyer of great ability and information, who had

[1] Clarke, p. 243.—Warner's Eccl. Hist. V. 2. p. 73.—Strype's abr. Life of Cranmer, p. 6.

incurred the dislike of the Romish clergy by the freedom of his sentiments. He confessed to his opponent that there was truth and reason in his arguments, but that he dared not avow his conviction, for fear of giving umbrage both to his imperial master and the pontiff. He persuaded the divines in the Emperor's court to avoid a discussion with Cranmer, while the Emperor himself declared that he chose to leave the settlement of a question of that description to the See of Rome. Cranmer went next to Nuremberg, and had a private interview with John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, to whom he exhibited the credentials with which he had been entrusted by Henry to the Elector, Philip of Luneberg, and Wolfgang of Anhalt. This interview was merely of a preparatory character; but he returned the following day, when he found Pontanus and Spalatinus, with whom he had a long and varied conversation, on the pacification with the Emperor, the state of religion, auxiliaries against the Turks, and the violation of ecclesiastical property; on all which subjects the Archdeacon of Taunton, though new in the science of diplomacy, delivered himself in such a manner, as to gain the respectful attention of the two practised lawyers.[1] During his stay at Nuremberg, he became acquainted with Osiander, a celebrated reforming divine, whom he prevailed on to declare the King's marriage unlawful, in his treatise on incestuous unions, and to draw up a form of direction for the management of the process, which was transmitted to England. He also encouraged him in the prosecution of a harmony of the gospels, which he afterwards published with a dedication to Cranmer as Archbishop.

[1] Seckendorf, Hist. Lutheran. L. 3. p. 41.

The friendship between the two divines was cemented by the niece of Osiander, who gave her hand to Cranmer; he did not however take her over with him, when he returned from his embassy, but sent for her in 1534. The Romanists, who from their enmity against him, have represented him as a man who acted a part throughout with a view to preferment, have not failed to observe that he was incapable of a bishopric on account of his second nuptials; but his defenders have replied, that the Apostle in the scripture to which they refer (1 Tim. ii. 3.) only forbids the bigamy, and even polygamy, which was too common among the Jews.

While Cranmer was negociating in Germany, other agents were employed to the same effect in France and Italy; and when Henry had obtained favourable decisions not only from the two Universities in his own dominions, but from those of Bologna, Padua, Ferrara, Paris, and other foreign seminaries, he laid them before his parliament, together with opinions obtained from leading individuals, and the books that had been composed on the subject by the supporters of his cause. There were twelve seals of universities shown, and a hundred books produced. On the display of this formidable host of authorities, the Chancellor desired the members to report in their respective counties, that they clearly saw the King had not attempted this matter of his mere will and pleasure, but for the discharge of his conscience, and the security of the succession to the crown.

On the decease of Archbishop Warham, August 23, 1532, the King resolved to advance Cranmer to the vacant see of Canterbury, and sent him word to expedite his return, without particularizing the reason; but as

he suspected the design of his royal master, he lingered on the continent with a view to its counteraction. His reluctance to accept this high dignity arose from several causes. Burnet observes, that a promotion so far above his thoughts, had not its common effects on him: for he had a true and primitive sense of so great a charge; and instead of aspiring to it, shrunk from it; but this declining of preferment, being a thing of which the clergy of that age were so little guilty, discovered that he had maxims very far different from most churchmen.[1] Clarke says, 'He knew that there was an oath to be taken to the Pope of Rome before he could be installed in that place. He feared also what issue the King's divorce might have, and was not ignorant of the King's violent disposition. He knew that sudden and great changes were dangerous; and that the court, to which he was not accustomed, was full of deceits and counterfeitings; that he must in all things obey the King's will; and that if he tripped in any thing never so little, there would be some who out of envy at his felicity, would tumble him down headlong when he began to fall.'

He told the King he could not accept the pall at the hands of the pontiff; because the full right of donation of all manner of benefices appertained to his majesty, and not to any foreign authority. This declaration coincided with the feelings of Henry in substance, who was employing many pens to maintain his right to supremacy in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, and obtaining a statute from Parliament to forbid all appeals to Rome, while the clergy in convocation fully acknowledged his claim; but some difficulties arose in

[1] Burnet's Abridg. Hist. of Reform. vol. i. p. 90.

the detail, and the monarch consulted Oliver, an eminent civilian, who advised that bulls should be received from Rome as usual, but that the prelate-elect, on acceding to his dignity, should make such protestation as might satisfy his own conscience, and save the King's honour. Eleven bulls were therefore signed by the Pope, in the months of February and March in the following year; however disagreeable the office must have been to his Holiness, as occupant of the chair of St. Peter, to nominate to that of Augustine, a man who had argued against his dispensing power, and believed his claims to be unscriptural and unjust. By the first, directed to the King, Cranmer is promoted to the see; by the second, addressed to himself, he is created Archbishop; by the third, absolution is granted him from all censures; the fourth is sent to the suffragans; the fifth to the dean and chapter; the sixth to the clergy of Canterbury; the seventh, to the laity; the eighth to such as held lands, requiring them to acknowledge him; by the ninth his consecration is ordered, on taking the oath in the pontifical; by the tenth the pall is sent him; and by the eleventh, the archbishop of York and the bishop of London are commissioned to invest him. Such was the art of multiplying business, and enriching the apostolic chamber; the successors of Peter being mainly intent on acquiring that, of which it was the Apostle's own glory, "Silver and gold have I none!"

He was consecrated on the thirtieth of March, by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, John Voicy, bishop of Exeter, and Henry Standish, bishop of St. Asaph; and because in the oath of fidelity to the Pope, which he was obliged to take, there were some particulars which seemed to clash with his allegiance to his

sovereign, he made a public protest, that he intended not to take the oath in any other sense than that which was reconcileable to the laws of God, the King's just prerogative, and the statutes of the kingdom; so as not to bind himself thereby, to act contrary to any of these. This protest he renewed, when he was to take another oath to the Pope, at his receiving the pall; and both times desired the protonotary to make a public instrument of his protestation, and the persons present to sign it.

The new archbishop, with the diocesans of Winchester, London, Bath, and Lincoln, pronounced the sentence of divorce between Henry and Catharine, on the twenty-third of May; and five days after, confirmed the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was crowned the same week by his hands. The monarch despatched envoys to different courts to justify these proceedings; and also sent some to Catherine herself, to charge her to assume no other title than that of princess dowager. Many priests and friars however scrupled not in their sermons and discourses to condemn these proceedings altogether, which were revised by Clement, who declared the divorce null and void, and menaced Cranmer with excommunication, unless he would revoke all that he had done; whereupon the Archbishop appealed from the Pope to the next general council, lawfully called; and sent the appeal under his seal to Bonner, desiring him and Gardiner to acquaint the Pope with it, in such a manner as they thought most expedient.

On the seventh of September, the Queen was delivered of a daughter, who was baptized by the name of Elizabeth, the Archbishop standing godfather.

The papal authority became now generally discussed,

not only in synods and Parliament, but also in academies and private episcopal sees. At length it was declared by the senate, 'That the authority of the Pope in England was without foundation; being at first mere usurpation, and in its progress tyranny; that the exactions of the Romish court were every where burdensome, but in England intolerable; and that although many complaints have been made in later ages, there had been no certain remedy, and the provisory enactments had been always inefficient: that therefore, as these grievances did not allow of modification, the only cure was to reject and extirpate their pretended authority, and consider the Pope simply as Bishop of the Romish church and neighbouring jurisdiction, defined by ancient canons; and that the King should resume his authority, and the privileges of the kingdom, which his ancestors had never formally renounced.'

These resolutions and others of similar purport, were principally owing to the solid and perspicuous reasonings of the Primate. He afterwards declared in a sermon at Canterbury, that he had made the destruction of the papal usurpation a subject of prayer for many years; because it was the occasion of many things being done contrary to the honour of God and the good of the realm; and he perceived no hopes of amendment while it continued. That he might proceed in the great work of reformation with true judgment, and justify it by good authorities, he made a collection of the opinions of the ancient fathers and later doctors on all the points of religion; of which Burnet says, he had seen two volumes in folio; but from a letter of the Lord Burleigh, it appears there

were then six volumes of Cranmer's collection in his hands.

He represented to his sovereign, that if he rejected the authority of the Pontiff, it was absurd to permit the continuance of such opinions or practices in the church, as had no foundation but papal decrees. He observed, that England was a complete body within itself; and that every prince ought to reform the church in his dominions by a national synod, especially when the Pope could not be persuaded to hold a general council. He also set forth the necessity of a reformation in a long harangue in the House of Lords. He began with an exposure of the impostures used by the canonists and other courtiers at Rome; and passing on to the consideration of the authority of a general council, he showed that it flowed not from the number of the bishops, but from the matter of their decisions, which were received with an universal consent: that Christ had named no head of the whole church, as God had named no head of the world; but that for order's sake, archbishops had been set up over provinces, and afterwards the authority of a pontiff had been recognized; yet some Popes were condemned for heresy, as Liberius and others. That moreover, if faith was to be evinced by works, the ill lives of most Popes of late proved that their faith was very suspicious; and all the privileges granted by princes or synods to the Romish see might justly be recalled. That Popes ought to submit themselves to general councils, and were to be tried by them. He proceeded to enumerate the existing corruptions, which required reformation; declared that the fathers had always appealed to the scriptures, as superior to the authority of councils, by

which alone all controversies ought to be decided; and gave it as his sentiment, that when the fathers all agreed in the exposition of any passage in the word of God, their unanimity might be considered as produced by the Spirit of God. He showed how little regard was to be paid to a council at which the Pope presided; and that if any common error had passed upon the world, when it came to be discovered, every man was at liberty to shake it off, even though previously sworn to maintain it. The candour, patience, and gravity, with which he promulgated these genuine protestant sentiments, marked him well qualified for the work, to which Providence had called him; and in concurrence with his reforming principles, he ordered an alteration to be made in the archiepiscopal titles, styling himself *Metropolitan* instead of Legate of the Apostolic See.

No measure appeared at this season to Henry and Cranmer more desirable for the establishment of the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical causes, as well as the promotion of reformed religion, than the abolition of the great number of monastic foundations dispersed over the realm. They were filled, generally speaking, with friars, who were either carrying on intrigues against the new regulations, or, under the mask of separation from the world, indulging in the grossest sensuality. These men had it in their power to thwart the designs of the government to an indefinite extent, by wielding an instrument, some of whose motions were open, and others secret, and in perpetual exercise. Their easy access to all families, from the mansion to the cottage, and their opportunities of inflaming the minds of the people in familiar conversation or private confession, rendered them the most formidable of opponents.

Cromwell, the King's vicegerent, therefore began to concert with his friends the means of dissolving these establishments, which had been for a length of ages growing excrescences on the diseased body of Christianity; while the archbishop, in consistency with his pastoral character, encouraged the plan of a general visitation to inspect the interior of their dwellings, and investigate the existing state of their morals.

The visitors were instructed to declare all absolved from any rules or oaths binding them to the Pope, and to order such statutes as were connected with this kind of obligation to be erased from their books. They were to direct that the abbots should abridge their sumptuous fare, and keep plain tables for hospitable purposes; that the Scriptures should be read at their meals; that they should have lectures in divinity daily read to them; and that they should maintain some of their order at the university. The abbots were required to instruct the monks in true religion, and teach them that the gospel enjoined spirituality of heart and life. But what scenes of iniquity and debauchery were discovered! They detected the commission of enormities which cannot be named; the monks were convicted of criminal intercourse with prostitutes and married women; while many of the nuns were found to be pregnant. Some houses increased their funds by carrying on traffic in relics and images and the most trifling baubles, and imposing on the credulity of the people by the most shameless pretences. In the recesses of others were apprehended implements for clipping and coining; while many convents were divided into factions, which exercised in turn the most barbarous cruelties on each other.

As soon as these disorders were made generally

known by the reports of the commissioners, the whole kingdom was scandalized, and the parliament were ready to second the monarch in adopting measures for their partial suppression, or total abolition. Cranmer desired, that out of the revenues of the monasteries, the King should found more bishoprics; that the dioceses being reduced into less compass, the bishops might execute their office with more conformity to scriptural rule and primitive condition. He hoped also, that from these ruins there would be new foundations raised in every cathedral, to be nurseries of learning, under the inspection of the bishop, for the use and benefit of the whole diocese. But these wishes were frustrated through the cupidity of the sovereign and the arts of his courtiers, who endeavoured to obtain ample establishments for their own families from the secularization of the property of the church.

Paul the Third, succeeding Clement in the papacy, and perceiving no hopes of accommodation with England, excommunicated the King, absolved all his subjects from their allegiance, ordered all ecclesiastics to quit his territories, and the nobility to take up arms against him. He forbade Christians of all nations to have any commerce with the English people, laid the kingdom under an interdict, and annulled all the treaties which foreign princes had made with Henry since his second marriage, declaring the issue illegitimate.

On the eighth of January, 1536, Queen Catharine died at Kimbolton, after having sustained a long series of afflictions. She had been harassed by repeated messages from Henry, importuning her to resign the title of Queen; to which requisition she could on no account be brought to consent, claiming it from all her attendants, though enjoined by the King to arrogate no

higher stile than that of Princess Dowager of Wales. With all the indignant feeling of an injured wife, and the respect of a devotee for the sanction which Rome continued to attach to her union with Henry, she watched over the rising years of the Princess Mary, and by precept and example laid probably in that young female's mind the germ of bigotry, which was afterwards to appear and increase with such baleful influence to her native land.

In consequence of a representation from the crown, the parliament passed an act, suppressing all monasteries whose revenues did not exceed two hundred pounds; and appropriated their income for the use of his Majesty, who gained an annual income of thirty-two thousand pounds, besides a capital of above one hundred thousand on the plate, ornaments, and effects of churches and convents. On this occasion Henry erected a new court of justice, called, the Court of Augmentation of the King's Revenue, for taking cognizance of such sequestrations. A convocation of the clergy, now assembled in London, were engaged in discussing the expediency of a new translation of the Bible into the vernacular tongue, and its publication for the use of the nation at large, as well as its introduction into all the parish churches. Cranmer and his friends strenuously urged the decision of the question in the affirmative, from a conviction that no measure could more directly tend to root out papal errors, and favour the introduction of purer doctrine. When it was proposed to petition the King on the subject, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, took the lead in the opposition, declaring, 'that all the heresies and absurd opinions which had been spreading in Germany, and were now making their appearance in England, would

not have arisen, but for the free and unrestrained use of the Scriptures; that he was himself the more satisfied, that such a preposterous and promiscuous use of the Scriptures ought to be prohibited rather than forwarded; for the whole English nation would easily ruin itself with such a dangerous weapon; and it would be much more advisable to send out in the vulgar language a short exposition of the principal articles of faith, whereby subjects might be instructed in their duty to their king and the church.' Cranmer however carried his point, and it was resolved in parliament, not however without much debate; some affirming that the consequence would be a variety of opinions among the people, and a weakening of the royal authority; others maintaining with equal force and more reason, that it would rather conduce to render the supremacy recently assumed by the king acceptable to the people, by whom the papal power was generally disliked. Queen Anne seconded the petition to Henry, who gave orders for its accomplishment. Cranmer commenced the work by dividing Tindal's New Testament into ten parts, and employing some learned divines in its revision and correction: he then sent it over to some printers in Paris who began the impression, which was finished in England by Richard Grafton. The work was three years in progress, and many of the copies were seized by the Sorbonne.

The Queen was much esteemed for the readiness with which she promoted every useful undertaking, and the bounty which she exercised towards the poor. Cromwell and Cranmer always found in her a firm support; but the affections of her unprincipled husband began now to be estranged from her, and to be fixed on a new object in the person of Lady Jane Seymour, one of her

attendants, while she herself was delivered of a dead male child, to the bitter disappointment of Henry, who, conscious as he must have been of his presumptuous offences against heaven, considered this event as a mark of the divine displeasure against his second marriage, as he had before regarded the death of two sons by Catharine in a similar point of view. The dissolution of his second marriage was now the grand wish of his heart. This could not be effected by any pretence of unlawfulness, as in the prior connexion; but a party at court, headed by the Duke of Norfolk, who were attached to the old superstitions in religion, and hoped to ingratiate themselves in the royal favour, took advantage of his majesty's state of mind, and fomented reports calculated at once to awaken his jealousy, and furnish him with an excuse to cut her off by a violent death. Lady Rochford, the wife of her own brother, with a baseness of which there are few parallels in history, declared her suspicions of incestuous intercourse between the Queen and her lord, and she was at the same time charged with adultery with several other persons. The poor victim of this cruel conspiracy, knowing her innocence of such abominable criminality, on hearing that the King had ordered her to be confined to her chamber, and the suspected delinquents to be sent to the Tower, smiled at first, thinking that Henry was in jest; but on the assurance that he was in earnest, she fell into hysterical convulsions and incoherent ravings, but at intervals of composure prepared for her trial, and the death which she could not but anticipate from the sentence of a monarch and a husband who refused to admit her to his presence.

No person in authority stood by the falling princess but the Archbishop of Canterbury. He ventured to

write to the King a long letter in her behalf, declaring that he never had a better opinion of any woman than of the Queen; that, next the King, he was more bound to her than to all persons living; and that he loved her, because of the love which she bore to God and his gospel. Cranmer seems to have been thoroughly persuaded of her freedom from conjugal infidelity; but the servile court before which she was tried, condemned her to be burned or beheaded, at the King's pleasure. The vindictive monarch desired to find some means of annulling his marriage, that her daughter Elizabeth might be declared illegitimate. He remembered a report of a previous contract between her and Lord Percy, now Earl of Northumberland. That nobleman swore that no such contract had ever existed; but the hope of escaping the punishment which threatened her, induced the unhappy Queen to make a contrary declaration. She was secretly conveyed to Lambeth, where she had an interview with her afflicted friend, to whom and some other persons of distinction she confessed a just and lawful impediment; on which he was obliged to pronounce her marriage with the King to be null and void. It is evident that this sentence contradicted the former, for if she had been illegally wedded to his Majesty, she could not be attainted for adultery, and it afforded a good opportunity to Henry to spare her life; but his heart was completely steeled against her sufferings, and to the outrage of all decency, he married Jane Seymour the day after her execution!

Though this melancholy event belongs to civil history, yet it cannot be overlooked by the ecclesiastical narrator, for it is generally allowed, that her attachment to the Reformation was an indirect cause of her cruel treatment, and excited against her the malice and envy

of an interested and bigoted party, who longed for her ruin, as well as that of her friend the Archbishop. This impression was so strong on the continent, that the Protestant princes of Germany were determined to refuse to make the English monarch the head of their confederacy, on perceiving the ascendency which the popish adherents still possessed at his court.

The work of reformation however still proceeded. Pope Paul III. beginning to conceive hopes of a reconciliation with England, and showing a readiness to enter into fresh negociation, it became necessary to give him some unequivocal mark of the resolution of the nation to reject his claim to ecclesiastical interference. Henry was as ambitious on the one hand, as libidinous on the other, and could never be persuaded to renounce his assumed supremacy. In the parliament of 1536, two more acts were passed against the papal power. On a complaint from the enemies of the Reformation, that no less than sixty-seven opinions obtained on religious topics, which proved the necessity of an infallible tribunal, Cromwell was sent to the convocation with a message from the King, that they should reform the rites and ceremonies of the church according to the rules of scripture, which ought to be preferred to all glosses or decrees of popes. Cranmer took occasion to show the vanity of the school-divinity, and proved the absolute necessity of the scriptures to all the purposes of religion. After long and warm debates, the convocation agreed to certain articles reduced into the form of constitutions, importing ; That the holy scripture was the foundation of faith, together with the creed of the apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, expressive of the sense of scripture; that baptism was absolutely necessary, as well as penitence, compre-

hended in the three acts of contrition, auricular confession, and amendment of life; that the real body of Christ was present in the eucharist; that justification was acquired by regeneration, in contrition, faith, and charity; that images ought to be preserved in churches; but that the worship should not be paid to the image, but to God himself; that the saints ought to be honoured, though without a belief that they could grant what was in the gift of God alone; that they might nevertheless be invoked, without superstition, and their festivals observed; but that some of these might be retrenched by the King's authority; that the customary ceremonies of the church should be retained, such as the sacerdotal ornaments, holy water, consecrated bread, tapers on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, palms on Palm-Sunday, prostrations before the cross on Good-Friday, hallowing of the font, exorcisms, and benedictions; that prayers should be put up for departed souls, and alms given for masses and exequies; but as the place they were in, and the pains they suffered, had not been ascertained by Scripture, they ought to be remitted wholly to God's mercy; that the notions of purgatory should be exploded, such as that souls could be delivered from it by the Pope's pardon, or by masses said in certain places, or before particular shrines. These constitutions, corrected in some places by the King's own hand, were signed by Cromwell, Cranmer, seventeen Bishops, forty Abbots or Priors, and fifty Archdeacons, or deputies from the lower house of convocation.

In 1537, the Archbishop, with the joint authority of the Bishops, issued the well-known 'Erudition of a Christian Man.' It contained an exposition of the creed, the Lord's prayer, the ave-maria, justification,

and purgatory; declared the universal pastorship of the Bishop of Rome to have no foundation in the word of God; affirmed the Church of England to be as truly and properly a catholic and apostolic church as that of Rome; directed that the sacrament should be used with all due reverence and honour; condemned prostration before images; restricted the invocation of saints to begging their intercession; forbad the clergy to pretend to temporal jurisdiction, independent of civil magistracy; and cautioned the people against mistaking the hymn to the Virgin for a prayer. Justification is ascribed to the merits and satisfaction of Christ alone; and the Pope's pardon, masses at *Scala Cœli*, or before any celebrated statues, are declared unprofitable to deliver souls out of the middle state of punishment. Amid the darkness which still continued, especially on the doctrine of transubstantiation, it is pleasing to see that Cranmer could so far prevail.

But his satisfaction received a great check, when Henry drew up the Six Articles, which the Duke of Norfolk offered to the parliament, and whose import was, to establish the doctrine of the corporal presence, communion in one kind, observation of the vow of chastity, private masses, clerical celibacy, and auricular confession. He boldly argued against them three days together; and though the King was obstinate in passing them, he desired a copy of the Archbishop's reasons against them, and discovered no resentment against him for his opposition. His Majesty would have persuaded him to withdraw from the house, on the passing of the bill; but he frankly replied that he thought himself bound in conscience to stay and manifest his dissent. When the measure was finally carried, he entered his protest against it; and soon after, anticipating probably

a trying time for all inclined to a purer system, sent his wife away privately to her friends in Germany. Henry, impressed with esteem of his unbending probity, sent the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with Cromwell, to acquaint him with the continuance of his favour.

Burnet mentions a curious circumstance relating to this transaction. 'Cranmer put his reasons against the Six Articles together, and gave them to his secretary to be written out with a fair hand for the king's use; but the secretary crossing the Thames with the book in his bosom, met with such an adventure on the water, as might at another time have sent the author to the fire. There was a bear baited near the river, which breaking loose ran into it, and happened to overturn the boat in which Cranmer's Secretary was; and he, being in danger of his life, took no care of the book, which falling from him floated on the river, and was taken up by the bear-keeper, who put it into the hand of a priest that stood by, to see what it might contain. The priest presently found it was a confutation of the Six Articles, and so told the bear-keeper, that the author of it would certainly be hanged. So when the Secretary came to ask for it and said it was the Archbishop's book; the other, being an obstinate papist, refused to give it, and reckoned that now Cranmer would certainly be ruined. But the Secretary acquainted Lord Cromwell with it, who called for the priest, and severely chid him for presuming to keep a privy-counsellor's book; and so he took it out of his hands. Thus the Archbishop was delivered out of his danger.'

When the Session of Parliament broke up, the King appointed commissioners, devoted to the Romish faith, to find out those who were averse from the Six Articles,

and deliver them up for punishment; in consequence of which tyrannical edict, five hundred Londoners were imprisoned; but the Chancellor represented the impolicy of such a proceeding with so much pathos and justice, that they obtained their release. Bonner and Gardiner were perpetually occupied in opposing the salutary advice given to Henry by Cromwell and Cranmer; so that the history of the day is a series of contradictory orders on the part of His Majesty. But an event occurred in 1540, which considerably weakened the interest of Cranmer, and this was no other than the fall of his honest and able coadjutor; who having recommended Henry to marry Ann of Cleves, an union which proved dissatisfactory to his royal master, soon after lost his favour, through the insinuations of the popish zealots, who represented that the kingdom was filled with mal-contents on the score of religion; that they considered the Vice-gerent as author of all those measures which they disliked; that he had deceived His Majesty in the affair of his marriage; that he had enriched himself by oppression; and that the people would be better pleased by his disgrace, than by the patent lately granted him of the Earldom of Essex. As in the case of Ann Boleyn, so now in that of the Chancellor, all his friends forsook him in his extremity, except the good Archbishop, who wrote such a letter to Henry in his behalf, as no other man in the kingdom would have presumed to indite; but the remonstrance was ineffectual.

In this year the largest volume of the English Bible was published, with an excellent preface, by Cranmer; and Henry required all parishes to provide one of them by the next All-hallowtide, under the penalty of forty shillings a month, till it was procured. The people

were also charged not to dispute about it, nor to disturb divine service by reading it during the mass; but to peruse it with humility and reverence. Six copies were placed in St. Paul's; but Bonner, afraid of the effect, posted up near them an admonition, 'that none should read them with vain glory and corrupt affections, to draw multitudes about them when they read them.' Such was the eagerness of the people to hear the divine word, that a crowd used to assemble round those who were able to read them aloud; and nearly the whole day were parties seen thus collected, 'with joy drawing water out of these wells of Salvation.' Many sent their children to school, and when they had learned to read, carried them to church to read the Bible. Cranmer obtained an order that all private persons might have possession of the Bible, which was vehemently resisted by Gardiner, who maintained that without tradition it was impossible to understand the sense of scripture; and one day he challenged the Archbishop, in the royal presence, to show any difference between the word of God, and what were called the Apostolic Canons. The issue of the debate was, that Henry gave sentence in favour of Cranmer, observing that 'he was an old experienced *captain*, and ought not to be troubled with the cavils of *recruits*.'

The success of the anti-reformists against Cromwell, inspired them with fresh zeal in prosecuting their machinations against Cranmer. Observing their restless spirit, he thought it prudent to retire for a season, and to live in as great privacy as the duties of his station would allow. Gardiner however was implacable. He employed persons to represent to the king, that it was in vain to lop off the branches of heresy, and leave the root still growing. He procured Sir

John Gostwicke, a Bedfordshire knight, to accuse the archbishop in parliament of encouraging novel opinions, and making his family a nursery of heresy and sedition; on which some lords of the privy council moved the king to commit him to the Tower, till inquiry should be made into the truth of the charge. The king, perceiving that there was more of malice than truth in these accusations, one evening, under pretence of diverting himself on the water, ordered his barge to be rowed to the Lambeth side. The servants of Cranmer, on the arrival of the royal barge, acquainting their lord, he hasted down to the river to pass his respects to Henry, and invite him into the palace. The king commanded him to enter the barge, and sit down close by him. He then complained of the dangers which seemed to impend the realm from the theological disputes of the time; and observed that he had entertained an idea of searching for the grand heresiarch, and taking him off by some exemplary punishment; adding that he desired to know his opinion on such a resolution. Cranmer, who suspected the reference of the question to his own person, replied in an unembarrassed manner, that his majesty's resolution was highly to be commended; and that not only the prime incendiary, but also the rest of the factious heretics ought to be made public examples to the terror of others: but withal he cautioned the king not to charge those with *heresy*, who made the divinely-inspired scriptures the rule of their faith, and could prove their doctrines by clear testimonies from the word of God. His majesty then spoke more openly, informing him that he had been represented by many as the grand heresiarch, and that his authority had occasioned the Six Articles to be

contested so publicly in his province. The archbishop modestly replied, that he could not but acknowledge himself to be of the same opinion, in respect of those articles, as he had declared himself of, when the bill was passing; but that nevertheless he was unconscious of having offended against the act. Henry, with an air of pleasantry, asked if his bed-chamber was free from the breach of that statute? Cranmer answered gravely, that the clause which made it capital for a priest to be a married man did not apply to him; for that he had been joined in wedlock to a German lady, during his embassy, and as soon as the act had passed, had sent back his wife to her kindred on the continent.

The king was much pleased with the open and candid replies made by the archbishop, assured him of his favour, declared that the Six Articles had not been enacted with any personal reference to himself, and informed him of the charges preferred against him, with the names of the accusers. Cranmer said he was not afraid of the strictest scrutiny, and requested his majesty to order him to trial. The king assured him, that he was so perfectly convinced of his ingenuousness, that he would leave his cause in his own hands, and appoint no other judge but himself. Cranmer observed, that the world would not be satisfied with such a decision; but Henry affirmed that such was his pleasure, and then kindly dismissed him. This important conference between the monarch and primate, so illustrative of either character, took place without any state ceremony, while the boatmen rowed up and down the river.

Cranmer immediately despatched Dr. Cox, his vicar-general, and Hussey, his secretary, to Canterbury, to investigate into the nature of the plot; but though they

were thus engaged for a month or two, they 'yet did little,' says Clarke, 'being persons that favoured the popelings.' In the meantime his adversaries pressed the king to send him to prison, and oblige him to answer to the charge of heresy. On the contrary, Henry, convinced of their injustice, advised him to prosecute them for defamation, but Cranmer intreated to be spared any share in vindictive measures. Forgiveness of injuries was ever a remarkable trait in his character. 'Such was the simplicity of Cranmer's heart,' observes Smollet, 'that he could not distinguish his own enemies; and such his benevolence, that he could not withhold his assistance from those whom he knew to be his enemies. One day he went to court to solicit in favour of a person who had craved his interest. Henry asked him, if he thought that person was his friend, and he relying in the affirmative, "No (said the king) he is your inveterate foe, and I order you to call him knave, when next you see him." Cranmer begged he might be excused from using such expressions as did not become the mouth of a bishop. Henry said he would be obeyed; but Cranmer found means to avoid the meeting; and the king continued to admire and love him for his Christian meekness and integrity.'[1] Nature, no doubt, had done much for this prelate, in giving him a mild and amiable disposition; but grace had done more, in teaching him to follow the blessed footsteps of a suffering master, who prayed for his murderers, and who, when he was reviled, reviled not again. How enviable was the peace of this good man, when contrasted with the restlessness of his enemies! How lovely his benevolence, opposed to their malice!

[1] Hist. of England, v. 6. p. 90.

'Do my Lord of Canterbury an ill turn,' was the common proverb, 'and he will be your friend as long as you live!' His course of life was simple and uniform. He rose every morning at five o'clock to his studies, and received suitors after dinner, or in the absence of applicants allowed himself an hour for a game at chess, and returned to his books and papers. His charity to the poor was distinguished, for whom he provided lodgings, medical assistance, and needful support. His conduct to his attendants was kind and affable; to his tradesmen, just; to his tenants, considerate; 'providing things honest in the sight of all men;' walking wisely towards them that were without, and kindly towards them that were within.

The enmity of the Archbishop's adversaries continuing unabated, they repeatedly moved his Majesty to send him to the Tower, and proceed against him on a charge of heresy. They hoped by such violent measures to facilitate their own plan of accusation, and embarrass his means of defence. The general integrity of his conduct, and the simplicity of his behaviour at their late interview, had sufficiently penetrated the monarch with esteem, to prevent his becoming a party to malicious machinations: and determining to act the politician in his turn, he so far consented as to engage, that if any plausible ground of charge was made out against the Primate, with respect either to church or state, he should be sent to prison. By this seeming countenance of their proceedings, Henry designed to find out who were his accusers, and how far their malice extended.

At midnight he despatched Denny, a page of the bed-chamber, to Cranmer, who left his apartment immediately, and went to the King. The Monarch

informed him of his situation. 'Almost all my counsellors,' said he, 'are urgent to have you imprisoned, because almost all England is defiled with heresy, which they say proceeds from you, and certain learned strangers whom you keep in your house; and therefore they would have you under custody, whilst the cause is inquired after, without which they cannot find out the original; and to-morrow is the day appointed for your commitment, and therefore consider whether it be well done or not.' The Archbishop thanked his Majesty for this timely notice, and declared himself willing to go to prison, and stand a trial; for being conscious that he was not guilty of any offence, he thought the best way to clear his reputation was to invite scrutiny.

From this reply, Henry perceived how little the Archbishop, as a man of integrity and simplicity, was aware of the subtlety of the parties who were leagued against him, and advised him of a course to be pursued in this emergency. 'To-morrow you will be sent for to the privy-council, and ordered to prison. Upon this you must request that since you have the honour to be one of the board, they would deal with you, as they would wish to be dealt with in the same circumstances, and permit you to take your place, and have the informers brought before you; in which case if you cannot answer their charges, you will submit to imprisonment. But if they refuse this just and reasonable demand, appeal to my presence and audience, and produce this token that you act under my authority.' With these words, he drew off a ring from his finger, and delivered it to the good prelate.

The next morning he was summoned to the council, but on his arrival was denied admittance into the chamber, and ordered to wait in the lobby amongst

the attendants. As soon as Dr. Butts, one of the King's physicians, heard of this indignity offered to a man of Cranmer's station and unimpeachable character, he went to him to show him attention and protect him from insult; but being sent for to the King, he took an early opportunity of saying, 'Please your Majesty, I have seen a strange sight to-day.' 'What's that?' asked Henry. 'Cranmer,' answered the Doctor, 'the Primate, is become somebody's serving-man, and hath been standing almost an hour before the door of the council-chamber.' 'Ha!' said the King, 'do my counsellors so disgracefully use the Primate?' An order was immediately issued for his admittance, but he was no sooner entered, than informed, that he had been accused of infecting the whole realm with heresy, and must be committed to the Tower, till the charge should be thoroughly examined. He desired that his accusers, with the witnesses and other evidences might be produced, and that he might have liberty to defend himself before the council; but when they resisted his remonstrance, he observed that 'he was very sorry that they should force him to appeal to the King against themselves, with whom he had so often communicated in council, and from whom he expected equal dealing on all occasions;' and producing the ring, he enjoined them to suspend their decree, and present themselves before their sovereign. 'Did not I tell you,' said Lord Russell, 'that the King would not suffer him to be committed, unless he were guilty of high treason?' When they came before the Monarch, he told them, that he had expected more wisdom and gravity in their body, than could admit of such treatment as they had shown the Archbishop; asking them, if they could endure such disgrace in their own

persons; and declaring with an oath, while he smote on his breast, that he was more beholden to Cranmer than to any other, that he had proved him, and knew that no prelate could exceed him in fidelity to his prince, and that all who were well-affected towards himself, would doubtless esteem the Archbishop. The Duke of Norfolk alone ventured to reply, that it had not been their intention to injure him, but that by keeping him in custody during the investigation, he might come out with the greater credit, when his innocency was proved. 'But,' said Henry, 'I will not have Cranmer so handled, nor any who are dear to me. I perceive there are some crooked and cankered hearts, who raise these tragedies; and unless they be quiet, I will interpose my authority to restrain them!' Having spoken thus in an angry tone, Henry left the presence-chamber; on which all the counsellors shook hands with Cranmer, expressing their desire of reconciliation. He received their advances with his accustomed sweetness; and from that time till the death of the King was so distinguished by his Majesty's favour, that nothing farther was attempted against him.

As the Vicar-general and Registrar, who had been despatched to Canterbury, were very dilatory in detecting the origin and progress of the plot, laid against the Archbishop by some of the Chapter and others in the interest of Gardiner, and were themselves suspected of unfaithfulness in the cause of their principal, the King sent Dr. Lee privately to that city, who formed an acquaintance with some worthy and religious characters, by whose direction he searched the houses of certain bigoted intriguers, and discovered letters from the Bishop of Winchester's secretary, which elucidated the whole matter. These he immediately

carried to the King, who was disgusted at the part which had been acted by the Archbishop's enemies, and acquainted him with their contents and writers, bidding him exercise caution towards the latter. When Gardiner perceived that his correspondence had been detected, and that his Majesty resented his conduct, he wrote in a penitential manner to Cranmer, confessing that he had been very ill-advised, to give credit to the slanderous reports raised against him, as if he had been a promoter of false doctrines; declaring that he was now entirely satisfied, that these accusations were groundless; asking pardon in submissive and affectionate terms for his great rashness and undutifulness, and promising all future obedience and fidelity to the Archbishop, whom he styled his good and gentle father. On the reception of this letter, the primate, laying aside all resentment, resolved to bury the past in oblivion; observing, that since Gardiner called him father, he would prove to him a father indeed; and when the King would have laid the Bishop's proceeding before the House of Lords, he prevailed on his Majesty to desist from his intention.

Among the letters found in Kent, one was written by Dr. Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and another by Dr. Barber, a civilian; who though entertained in his family, and entrusted with his secrets, and indebted to him for many favours, had entered into the conspiracy against him. He took them both into his study, telling them, that he had been basely and falsely abused by some, in whom he had always reposed the greatest confidence, and desiring them to give him their advice, as to the conduct to be pursued towards them. 'Marry!' said Barber, 'such villains and knaves deserve to be presently hanged without further trial.'

'Hanging is too good for them,' said Thornton, 'and if there want an executioner, I would be hangman myself.' 'O Lord and most merciful God!' exclaimed Cranmer, solemnly, looking up to heaven, 'whom may a man trust in these days? How truly is it said, *Cursed be he that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm!* Surely never was man so used as I have been: but, Lord, thou hast defended me, and lent me one good master, without whose protection I could not be safe for one day. For this I praise thy holy name!' Then taking out the two letters from the breast pocket of his cassock, he asked, 'Know you these letters, my masters?' When they saw their own papers produced against them, they were in the utmost confusion, and falling down on their knees, humbly sued for forgiveness. 'Well,' replied the Archbishop, with mingled tenderness and dignity, 'God make you both good men—I never deserved this at your hands—but ask forgiveness of God, against whom you have highly offended!'

The King, about this period, foreboding ill consequence from the deadly purposes of the popish faction, and the Archbishop's unsuspecting character, gave him an intimation of the end which probably awaited him, in the chivalrous mode of the times, changing the bearing in his coat of arms from three cranes (allusive to his family name) to as many pelicans; because he would be required, if God should call him to the trial, to shed his blood, like those birds, for the benefit of his spiritual children. The Primate, himself, deeming the season favourable to his views, harangued the peers against the sanguinary act of the Six Articles, and pressed for a mitigation of its severity; making such an impression on the sovereign and temporal lords, by his strong and persuasive reasoning, that they agreed

to moderate the rigour of the statute. Soon after the King prepared for an expedition against France, and at the request of Cranmer, permitted the service appointed for success on his undertaking to be performed in English instead of Latin. This, with the prohibition of some unwarrantable customs, respecting vigils, and the worship of the cross, was all the progress made in the Reformation, during the reign of Henry; for that monarch, towards the close of his life, either fearing that he had done wrong in so far opposing the wishes of the stricter Romanists, or yielding to the natural capriciousness of his temper, discountenanced the attempts of the more enlightened clergy and civilians, at an alteration of the canon law. He retained, however, so good an opinion of Cramer as to nominate him one of his executors, who were to take the administration of the government into their hands, till Edward was eighteen years old. But when the Earl of Hertford was chosen Protector, an important check was given to the influence of the Primate, who could take no step without the concurrence of the other executors. It is remarkable that Henry left in his will six hundred pounds annually, for masses to be said for the repose of his soul, with provision for four solemn obits; but Cranmer thought it his duty to endeavour to set aside this superstitious bequest, and so far succeeded, that those ceremonies, which would have had so bad an effect on the public mind, were neglected.

The coronation of the new sovereign took place on the twentieth of February, 1546, on which occasion the Archbishop, who saw with lively gratitude and cheerful anticipation the amiable temper and religious feeling of his royal godson, made an excellent address to

Edward; in which, after a censure of the papal encroachments on princes, and a declaration that the solemn ceremonies of a coronation add nothing to the authority of a monarch, whose power, as such, is derived immediately from the King of Kings himself; he informed the young prince of the particulars of his duty, his awful responsibility at the throne of the Supreme, and the example that was set before him in the case of *Josiah;* exhorting him to imitate that excellent youth in the regulation of God's holy worship, the suppression of idolatry, the encouragement of virtue, the execution of justice, the repression of violence, and the exercise of charity. In this memorable address he observed, that 'The solemn rites of coronation have their ends and utility, yet neither direct force or necessity: they be good admonitions to put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increasement of their dignity: for they be God's anointed, not in respect of the oil, which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power which is ordained.—The oil, if added, is but a ceremony; if it be wanting, the King is yet a perfect monarch—I have no commission to denounce your Majesty deprived, if your highness miss in part, or in whole, of these performances.' From these extracts it appears, that the understanding of the good prelate was completely cleared from those notions, which had so long led Christendom astray, on the respective rights of kings and priests; and that he brought down to their just level the arbitrary pretensions of Romish pontiffs, dangerous alike to the well-being both of sovereigns and subjects.

One of the earliest measures of the new reign, was a royal visitation, to rectify the disorders of the church,

and reform religion. The visitors had six circuits assigned them; and every division had a preacher, whose business it was to divert the minds of the people from superstitious practices, and dispose them for the intended alterations. And to make the impressions of their doctrine more lasting, the Archbishop thought it highly expedient to have some homilies composed; which might instruct the commonalty, in a familiar and plain manner, in the grounds and foundations of true religion. He requested Gardiner's concurrence in the first instance in this patriotic undertaking; but that prelate, who was always endeavouring to persuade the Protector to hinder all further attempts at reformation, showed a disinclination to render him any assistance; on which he pursued his plan without him; and with the help of some godly divines of like mind, published the first book of homilies; and soon after the paraphrase of the New Testament by Erasmus was translated, and placed in every church for the instruction of the people.

A convocation was held at St. Paul's, on the fifth of November, 1547, which was opened by the Archbishop with an address, in which he exhorted the clergy to give diligent application to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and to make the divine word the rule and standard of their faith and practice, without degrading their reason as men, and their character as teachers, by a blind submission to papal corruptions. But the terror of the Six Articles being a check on the majority, they acquainted him with their fears; who made a report to the council, and obtained a repeal of the act. In this convocation, the communion was ordered to be administered in both kinds, and the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy declared. Encouraged by these advances, and trusting that the good hand of his

God was upon him, he wrote to Bonner to forbid, throughout his diocese, the processions which had been customary on Candlemas-day, Ash-Wednesday, and Palm-Sunday; and cause notice to the same effect to be given to the neighbouring bishops. He was also one of the committee appointed to inspect the offices of the church, and to reform them according to scripture and the purest antiquity.

He now published a Catechism, entitled, 'A short instruction in Christian Religion, for the singular profit of children and young people;' and also a Latin tract, 'Against unwritten verities.' These were followed by his 'Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ.' Notwithstanding the light of divine truth which had long beamed upon his mind, he had retained a prejudice in favour of the corporal presence in the holy sacrament; but Bishop Ridley had been the instrument of leading him into clearer views on this important subject, of which the present work bore testimony. The Popish party were alarmed at its publication, and two answers appeared, one by Dr. Smith, and the other by Bishop Gardiner. The archbishop however defended his book against both; and was allowed, by all impartial reasoners, to have had considerably the advantage in the argument. The work itself was afterwards translated into Latin, by Sir John Cheke, and was highly esteemed by all learned foreigners, for the great knowledge which it displayed of scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity. He afterwards sent out 'Forty-two Articles of Religion,' which, with the assistance of his friend Ridley, he drew up, for preserving and maintaining the unity of the church. They were also revised by several other prelates and inferior dignitaries: and

after their corrections, farther enlarged and improved by Cranmer. These articles were agreed to in convocation, in 1552; and in 1553 were published by royal authority, both in Latin and English. Such was the origin of that useful formulary or digest, which contains, under some variation of shape and matter, the doctrines believed by the Established Church; and for which that church can never be sufficiently grateful, as it has been her sheet-anchor in all menaced shipwrecks. Nor is the benefit confined to her own members; it extends to orthodox dissidents from her communion, on whom its advantages are reflected; and whose forefathers, after the civil troubles, in which all professors of the Christian name ultimately suffered, found there a concentration of the rays of scriptural divinity, which long and multiplied labour might have failed to collect with equal clearness from the surrounding chaos.

The archbishop had formed a design, in the reign of the late monarch, to review the old canon law, and had made some progress in the work; but by the secret artifices of Gardiner and others, Henry was prevailed on to discountenance the undertaking. In this reign he resumed his design, and procured a commission from the King, for himself, with other learned divines and lawyers, diligently to examine into the old church-laws; and to compile such a code as they thought most expedient to be practised in the ecclesiastical courts, and most conducive to order and good discipline. Cranmer engaged in this laborious task with a laudable zeal, and prosecuted it with exemplary perseverance; but when a correct and complete draught was finished, and prepared for the royal assent, its confirmation was prevented by the decease of the young sovereign. Archbishop Parker, the worthy successor

and biographer of Cranmer, published the work in 1571 under the title, 'A Reform of Ecclesiastical Law.'

Edward, desirous of settling the succession to the crown, in prospect of his decease, was persuaded by the Duke of Northumberland to exclude his sisters, and appoint the Lady Jane Grey, who was married to the Duke's son. His Grace pretended that the interests of the reformed religion required this election: but on this head he had no personal solicitude, for he was secretly attached to the old persuasion, and was induced to give this counsel from a wish to aggrandize his own connexions, and entail the sovereignty on his descendants. Cranmer exerted himself to the utmost to counteract the measures of this artful nobleman. He represented to his Majesty, that religion was not to be defended by such unrighteous means; that it was one of the gross errors of the papists to justify the excluding or deposing princes from their just rights, on account of religion; and that, whatever might be the consequence, justice ought to be regarded, and the protection of the church committed to the care of that righteous providence, which was never known to give a blessing to those who endeavoured to preserve themselves from any imminent danger by unlawful methods. Edward, however, yielded to the arguments of the Northumberland faction: the will was made, and subscribed by the council and the judges. The archbishop was sent for, last of all, and required to subscribe; but he plainly told them, that he could not comply with this requisition without incurring the guilt of perjury, having sworn to the entail of the crown on the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth. To this objection the King replied, that the opinion of the judges ought to be the guide on such a point, who had informed him that, notwithstand-

ing the entail, he might lawfully bequeath the crown to the Lady Jane. Cranmer then desired leave to discourse with them himself on the subject; and as they were unanimous in declaring, that he might lawfully subscribe the will, he was, after much intreaty, induced to resign his private scruple to their authority.

It needed not this anecdote to throw additional shade on the character of Mary, already sufficiently dark in the eyes of posterity. Yet that princess, bigoted to a sanguinary creed, and recollecting the part alone which Cranmer had formerly acted in the divorce of her mother, became the speedy executioner of this ecclesiastical Abdiel, who, when all the rest had deserted her cause, presented a solitary instance of fidelity. It may, however, be observed, that through fear of imitating Rome in hierarchal tyranny, he carried his principle to an extent which, had it been just, would have secured to the princes of the houses of Stewart or Savoy the throne of Great Britain.

Not long after her accession it was reported that the archbishop, in order to make his court to the Queen, had offered to restore the Latin service, and that he had already said mass in his cathedral church of Canterbury. To clear himself from this base aspersion, he published a declaration, in which he not only avowed the imputation unjust, but offered publicly to defend the English Liturgy, and show its consonancy to holy writ, and the earliest usage, challenging his enemies to a disputation. The council sent a copy of this declaration to the Queen's commissioners for extirpation of heresy, who immediately summoned the Primate to appear before them. He acknowledged himself the author, but complained that it had been issued, contrary to his intent, in a very imperfect condition; for his design had been to

review and correct it, and then, having appended his seal, to fix it up at St. Paul's, and on all the church doors in London. The boldness of this avowal so irritated them, that they sent him within a week to the tower, there to be confined till the Queen's pleasure concerning him was known. Some of his friends, anticipating this violence, had urged him to sail over to the continent; but he thought it would reflect great dishonour on the cause he had espoused, if he deserted his station at such a season; and chose rather to hazard his life, than, by self-preservation, throw a stumbling-block in the way of his protestant brethren.

The substance of this remarkable paper was as follows:—That he found the Devil was, more than ordinary, busy in defaming the servants of God; and that whereas the corruptions of the mass had been cast out, and that the Lord's Supper was again set up, according to its first institution; the Devil now, to promote the mass, which was his invention, set his instruments to work, who gave it out, that it was now said in Canterbury by the Archbishop's order: therefore he protested that it was false, and that a dissembling monk (meaning Thornton, suffragan of Dover) had done it without his knowledge: he also offered, that he and Peter Martyr, with four or five more whom he would name, were ready to prove the errors of the mass, and to defend the doctrine and service set forth by the late king, as most conformable to the word of God, and to the practice of the ancient church for many ages.

In the middle of November, 1553, he was attainted by the parliament, and adjudged guilty of high treason at Guildhall. His see was declared vacant; and on the tenth of December the dean and chapter of Canter-

bury gave commissions to certain individuals to administer the affairs of the diocese in their name and by their authority. The injured prelate wrote a submissive letter to her Majesty, acknowledging his fault in yielding to the solicitations of lawyers and signing the late King's will. Mary had pardoned so many already who had been instrumental in promoting the succession of Lady Jane, that she could not refuse to forgive the Primate also his alleged *treason*, without manifest harshness, especially as he had been the last in the council to accede to the measure; but at the same time she issued her mandate to proceed against him on a charge of *heresy*.

The Queen having determined to proceed against the Archbishop on this charge, directions were given that he should be removed from the Tower to Oxford, in order that he might there, in company with Ridley and Latimer, dispute against certain doctors and divines. When these disputations were finished, the Archbishop and his companions were condemned as heretics, were committed to the custody of the Mayor and Sheriffs of Oxford, and carried to the Bocardo or common prison of that city.

Great exertions were now used, and the most flattering promises made, to induce the Archbishop to recant. In order that these means might succeed, he was removed to Christ Church, to the Dean's house, where, says Fox, he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowls, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ. Over and besides all this, secretly and sleightly, they suborned certain men, which, when they could not expunge him by arguments and disputations, should by entreaty and fair promises, or any other means, allure him to recantation: per-

ceiving otherwise what a great wound they should receive, if the Archbishop had stood stedfast in his sentence: and again on the other side, how great profit they should get, if he as the principal standard-bearer, should be overthrown. By reason whereof, the wily Papists flocked about him, with threatening, flattering, entreating, and promising, and all other means: especially Henry Sydall, and friar John de villa Garcina, a Spaniard, to the end to drive him, to the utmost of their possibility, from his former sentence, to recantation.

They set forth how acceptable his recantation would be to the King and Queen—that he should not only have his own life, but also be restored to his ancient dignity—that it was but a small matter which was required of him, and that if he would comply, the Queen would easily grant him any thing which he might desire. For a long time the Archbishop withstood with manly constancy both their intimidations and their promises, until at length he was overcome, and induced to subscribe, 'That as the legislature had received the Pope's authority, he was content to submit, and take the Pope for the chief head of this Church of England, as far as God's laws, and the laws and customs of this realm would permit.' It is indeed stated, that after having signed this recantation, he was by similar artifices persuaded to make several additional concessions. But this assertion rests on very insufficient evidence, and is indeed highly improbable. This one recantation afforded sufficient triumph to his enemies. It was immediately printed and published; and Mary, while rejoicing in Cranmer's infirmity, relaxed nothing from her cruel determination, but proceeded without delay to terminate the tragedy. Secret instructions were given to Dr Cole, to prepare

a suitable sermon against the 21st of March, on which day the Lord Williams of Thame, the Lord Shandoys, Sir Thomas Brydges, and Sir John Brown, were commanded to be at Oxford with a suitable retinue, in order to prevent the execution of the Archbishop being disturbed by any tumult.

Cranmer was as much as possible kept in ignorance of these cruel intentions; though he appears not to have been without some suspicion. The Friar Garcina brought him a paper with articles which the Archbishop was requested to write and sign with his own hand, in order that he might openly profess his recantation before the people. These articles the Archbishop put in his bosom, where also he secreted another paper containing his own exhortation which he purposed reciting to the people. Soon after the Lord Williams and his attendants having arrived, the archbishop was brought from the prison to St Mary's, the chief church in the University, in the following order. The Mayor, says Fox, went before, next him the Aldermen in their place and degree: after them was Cranmer brought, between two friars, which mumbling to and fro certain psalms in the streets, answering one to another until they came to the church door, and there they began the song of Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*, and entering into the church, the psalm-saying friars brought him to his standing and there left him. There was a stage set over against the pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Cranmer had his standing, waiting until Cole made him ready to his sermon.

The lamentable case and sight of that man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eyes, that beheld him. He that late was Archbishop, Metropolitan, and Primate of England, and the King's privy counsellor,

being now in a bare and ragged gown, and ill-favouredly clothed with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity, but of their state and fortune. For who would not pity his case, and bewail his fortune, and might not fear his own chance, to see such a prelate, so grave a counsellor, and of so long continued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life, and now presently from such fresh ornaments, to descend to such vile and ragged apparel.

In this habit when he had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar near adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed to God once or twice: till at length Dr. Cole coming into the pulpit, and beginning his sermon, entered first into mention of Tobias and Zachariah: whom, after he had praised in the beginning of his sermon, for their perseverance in the true worshipping of God, he then divided his whole sermon into three parts (according to the solemn custom of the schools) intending to speak first, of the mercy of God; secondly, of his justice to be showed; and last of all, how the Prince's secrets are not to be opened. And, proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occasion by and by to turn his tale to Cranmer, and with many hot words reproved him, that once he, being endued with the favour and feeling of wholesome and Catholic doctrine, fell into the contrary opinion of pernicious errors, which he had not only defended by writings, and all his power; but also allured other men to do the like, with great liberality of gifts, as it were, appointing rewards for error: and after he had allured them, by all means did cherish them.

It were too long to repeat all things, that in long order were then pronounced. The sum of this tripartite declamation was, that he said, God's mercy was so tempered with his justice, that he did not altogether require punishment according to the merits of offenders, nor yet sometimes suffer the same altogether to go unpunished, yea, though they had repented. As in David, who when he was bidden to choose of the three kinds of punishments, which he would, and he had chosen pestilence for the three days; the Lord forgave him half the time, but did not release all; and that the same thing came to pass in him also, to whom, although pardon and reconciliation were due according to the canons, seeing he repented from his errors; yet there were causes, why the Queen and the counsel at this time judged him to death: of which, lest he should marvel too much, he should hear some.

First, that being a traitor, he had dissolved the lawful matrimony between the King, her father and mother.

Secondly, that he had been an heretic, from whom, as from an author and only fountain, all heretical doctrine and schismatical opinions, that so many years have prevailed in England, did first rise and spring: of which he had not been a secret favourer only, but also a most earnest defender even to the end of his life, sowing them abroad by writings and arguments, privately and openly, not without great ruin and decay of the Catholic church.

And further it seemed meet, according to the law of equality, that as the death of the Duke of Northumberland of late, made even with Thomas More, chancellor, that died for the church, so there should be one that should make even with Fisher of Rochester: and because that Ridley, Hooper, and Farrer, were not able

to make even with that man, it seemed meet that Cranmer should be joined to them to fill up this part of equality.

Besides these, there were other just and weighty causes, which seemed to the Queen and council, which were not meet at that time to be opened to the common people.

After this, turning his address to the hearers, he bade all men beware by this man's example, that amongst men nothing is so high, that can promise itself safety on the earth, and that God's vengeance is equally stretched against all men, and spareth none. Therefore they should beware and learn to fear their Prince. And seeing the Queen's Majesty would not spare so notable a man as this, much less in the like cause she would spare other men, that no man should think to make thereby any defence of his error, either in riches or any kind of authority. They had now an example to teach them all, by whose calamity every man might consider his own fortune: who from the top of dignity, none being more honourable than he in the whole realm, and next the King, was fallen into so great misery, as they might now see: being a man of so high degree, sometime one of the chiefest prelates in the church and an archbishop, the chief of the council, the second person in the realm, of long time a man thought in greatest assurance, having a King on his side: notwithstanding all his authority and defence, to be debased from high estate to a low degree; of a counsellor to become a caitiff; and to be set in so wretched a state, that the poorest wretch would not change condition with him: briefly, so heaped with miseries on all sides, that neither was left in him any hope of better fortune, nor place for worse.

The latter part of his sermon he converted to the Archbishop: whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of Scripture, as with these and such like: bidding him not mistrust, but he should immediately receive that, which the thief did, to whom Christ said, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise." And out of St. Paul he armed him against the terrors of the fire, by this, "The Lord is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength:" by the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame to seem like a pleasant dew, adding also the rejoicing of St. Andrew in his cross, the patience of St. Lawrence in the fire: assuring him, that God, if he called on him, and to such as die in his faith, either would abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide it.

He glorified God much in his conversion, because it appeared to be only his work, declaring what travail and conference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the time (said he) he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy of his life: and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But lest he should carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour, he said, and also he did promise in the name of all the priests, that were present, that immediately after his death, there should be dirges, masses, and funerals executed for him at all the churches of Oxford for the succour of his soul.

Cranmer, in all the mean time, with what great grief of mind he stood hearing this sermon, the outward

show of his body and countenance did better express, than any man can declare: one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow lively in him expressed. More than twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, and dropped down marvellously from his fatherly face. They, which were present, do testify, that they never saw in any child more tears, than burst out from him at that time, all the sermon while: but specially when he recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's heart, that beheld so heavy a countenance and such abundance of tears in an old man of so reverend dignity.

Cole, after he had ended his sermon, called back the people that were ready to depart, to prayers: 'Brethren,' said he, 'lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you, and therefore I pray you, Master Cranmer, that you will now perform that you promised not long ago, namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a Catholic indeed.'—'I will do it,' said the Archbishop, 'and with a good will:' who by and by rising up, and putting off his cap, began to speak thus unto the people.

'I desire you, well-beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive my sins, which above all men, both in number and greatness, I have committed: but, among all the rest, there is one offence, which of all at this time doth vex and trouble

me, whereof in process of my talk you shall hear more in its proper place;' and then, putting his hand into his bosom, he drew forth his prayer, which he recited to the people in this sense:

'Good Christian people, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many, without number, and great above measure. But yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend more to speak hereafter. But how great and how many soever my sins be, I beseech you to pray to God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all.' And here kneeling down, he said:

'Oh Father of heaven: O Son of God, Redeemer of the world: O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven and earth more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither should I fly? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To thee, therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord, my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son, O heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return unto thee with his whole heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy: have mercy on me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake,

that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son, Jesus Christ's sake: and now therefore, our Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name,' &c And then he rising, said:

'Every man, good people, desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation, that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby: so I beseech God grant me grace, that I may say something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

'First, it is a heavy case to see that so many folk so much doat upon the love of this false world, and be so careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation, that you set not your minds overmuch upon this flattering world, but upon God and upon the world to come: and to learn to know what this lesson meaneth, which St. John teacheth, that, "the love of this world is hatred against God."

'The second exhortation is, that next under God you obey your King and Queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging: not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you; and therefore whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

'The third exhortation is, that you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For alas! pity it is to see contention and hatred one Christian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But, I pray you, learn and bear well away this one lesson, to do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth; and to

hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely and without all doubt God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour.

'The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches in this world, that they will well consider and weigh three sayings of the Scriptures.

'One is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith: "It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven." A sore saying, and yet spoken of him that knoweth the truth.

'The second is of St. John, whose saying is this: "He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God?"

'The third thing is of St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich men after this manner: "Weep you and howl for the misery that shall come upon you: your riches do rot, your clothes be moth eaten, your gold and silver doth canker and rust, and their rust shall bear witness against you, and consume you like fire. You gather a hoard of treasure of God's indignation against the last day." Let them that be rich ponder well these three sentences: for if ever they had occasion to show their charity, they have it now at this present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear.

'And now, forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my Master, Christ, for ever in joy, or else to be put in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell; and I see before mine eyes

presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up; I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour or dissimulation: for now it is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in time past.

'First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament.

'And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience more than any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life; and that is, the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth: which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth, which I thought in my heart, and were written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be: and that is, all such bills and papers, which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore: for may I come to the fire, it shall first be burned.

'And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

'And as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester, the which, my book, teacheth so true a doctrine of the Sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary thereto, shall be ashamed to show her face.'

Here the standers-by were all astonished, marvelled,

were amazed, and did look one upon another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood.

Briefly, it was a world to see the Doctors beguiled of so great a hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably or better in time deluded or deceived. For it is not to be doubted, but they looked for a glorious victory and a perpetual triumph by this man's recantation. Who, as soon as they heard these things, began to let down their ears, to rage, fret, and fume: and so much the more, because they could not revenge their grief; for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the most miserable man in the world can die but once: and whereas of necessity he must needs die that day, though the papists had been never so well pleased; now being never so much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed of them. And so, when they could do nothing else unto him, yet lest they should say nothing, they ceased not to object unto him his falsehood and dissimulation.

Unto which accusation he answered: 'Ah, my Masters, do not you take it so. Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled:' and in saying this, all the tears, that remained in his body, appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the Sacrament, and of the Papacy, some of them began to cry out, yelp, and bawl: and specially Cole cried out upon him: 'Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away.'

And then Cranmer, being pulled down from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most

cruelly. 'What madness,' said they 'hath brought thee again into error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable souls with thee into hell.' To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, saving that one, troubling him in the way, he spake and exhorted him to get home to his study, and apply to his book diligently; saying, that if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more, he should get knowledge. But the other Spanish barker, raging and foaming, was almost out of his wits, always having this in his mouth, 'Didst thou it not?'

But when he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridley, were burnt before him for the confession of the truth; kneeling down, he prayed to God, and not tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to death. His shirt was made long down to his feet. His feet were bare. Likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare, that not one hair could be seen upon it. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance of gravity moved the hearts both of his friends and of his enemies.

Then the friars began to exhort him, and play their parts with him afresh, but with vain and lost labour. Cranmer, with stedfast purpose abiding in the profession of his doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and others that stood by, bidding them farewell. And when he had thought to have done so likewise to Ely, the said Ely drew back his hand and refused, saying, 'It was not lawful to salute heretics, and especially such a one as falsely returned unto the opinions that he had forsworn.' And if he had known

before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly, and chid those sergeants and citizens, which had not refused to give him their hands. This Ely was a priest lately made, and student in divinity, being one of the fellows of Brazen-nose college.

Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer, whom, when they perceived to be more stedfast than that he could be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set unto him. And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right-hand into the flame; which he held so stedfast and immoveable (saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face), that all men might see his hand burned, before his body was touched. His body did so abide the burning of the flame, with such constancy and stedfastness, that standing always in one place without moving of his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound. His eyes were lifted up into heaven, and oftentimes he repeated, 'This hand hath offended; O! this unworthy right-hand!' so long as his voice would suffer him; and using often the words of St. Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,' in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost.

This fortitude of mind, which perchance is rare and not usual among the Spaniards, when friar John saw, thinking it came not of fortitude but of desperation, (although such manner of examples which are of the like constancy have been common here in England,) ran to the Lord Williams of Thame, crying, that the Archbishop was vexed in mind, and died in great desperation. But he, who was not ignorant of the

Archbishop's constancy, being unknown to the Spaniards, smiled only, and (as it were) by silence rebuked the friar's folly.

And this was the end of the learned Archbishop, whom, lest by evil subscribing he should have perished, by well recanting God preserved; and lest he should have lived longer with shame and reproof, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name and the profit of the church. So good was the Lord both to his church, in fortifying the same with the testimony and blood of such a martyr; and so good also to the man, with this cross of tribulation to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but also of his standing against John Lambert and Mr. Allen, or if there were any other with whose burning and blood his hands had been before any thing polluted. But especially he had to rejoice, that dying in such a cause, he was to be numbered amongst Christ's martyrs, much more worthy the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury, than he whom the Pope falsely before did canonize.[1]

'And thus,' says Strype, in his Life of Cranmer, 'we have brought this excellent prelate unto his end, after two years and a half's hard imprisonment. His body was not carried to the grave in state, nor buried, as many of his predecessors were, in his own cathedral church, nor enclosed in a monumont of marble or touchstone. Nor had he any inscription to set forth his praises to posterity; no shrine to be visited by devout pilgrims, as his predecessors, St. Dunstan and St. Thomas, had. Shall we therefore, as the heathen,

[1] Fox, iii. 563.

question the providence of God, seeing that so great a man had no sepulchre, while men of no reputation are laid in marble mausoleums? No: we are better Christians, I trust, than so, who are taught that the rewards of God's elect are nor temporal, but eternal. And Cranmer's martyrdom is his monument, and his name will outlast an epitaph or a shrine.'

Hooper.

Among those excellent dignitaries of the English church, who at the period of the Reformation received the crown of martyrdom, Dr. John Hooper holds a distinguished place. Fox compares him to Polycarp; and while Chronology assigns to one and the other their respective ages in ecclesiastical record, Faith delights to contemplate the Bishops of Smyrna and Gloucester among the spirits of just men made perfect; and Hope expects to join their company, when the same victory which they obtain over the enemy of their souls through grace, shall have been won in like manner by their successors in Asia and in Europe.

He was born in Somersetshire in 1495, and sent at the age of nineteen to Merton College, Oxford, under charge of an uncle who was fellow of that house, as well as principal of Alban Hall. To diligence in the ordinary studies of the university he added a constant habit of prayer and scriptural meditation, giving early evidence of that fear of the Lord which is wisdom. He was admitted Batchelor of Arts; and, according to some accounts, became afterwards a Cistertian monk. In the latter capacity he wore a white cassock, with black scapulary and hood, and was girt with a wooden girdle, but without a shirt; abstaining from animal food, lying on a straw pallet, from which he rose to midnight

prayer, and observing a continual silence. Of such a life after a while he grew weary, and perhaps doubted its profitableness; for he returned to Oxford, where he met with some Lutheran productions, and became a zealous Protestant.[1]

In 1539, the House of Lords, to please Henry VIII. passed a Bill on the motion of the Duke of Norfolk, known by the title of 'The Law of the Six Articles.' Its object was, to establish the doctrine of the real presence—communion in one kind—perpetual obligation of vows of chastity—utility of private masses—celibacy of the clergy—and necessity of auricular confession. It might well be termed '*the bloody act*' by the Protestants of the day, for it went the whole length in cruelty which the most rigid Papist could desire. Its penalties were forfeiture, imprisonment, and death; and commissioners were appointed by the King to inquire into all contravention of its statutes. It was suspended for a time by the interest of those advocates for the reformed, Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cromwell Earl of Essex; but in the following year the monarch resolving to wed the niece of the Duke of Norfolk, who hated the Protestants, a weight of influence was thrown into the opposite scale, which proved fatal to many excellent characters; and in the words of a modern historian, 'the hymenial torch of Henry and Catharine Howard was doomed to light the piles in Smithfield.'[2]

Hooper's spirituality and known attachment to evangelic truth rendering him obnoxious to some leading members of the university, and especially to one

[1] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, Vol. i. p. 75—Stow, p. 533.
[2] Andrews, Hist. of Great Britain, sub. ann. 1540.

Dr. Smith, he was obliged to quit Oxford, and retired to the mansion of Sir Thomas Arundel, a Devonshire gentleman, to whom he became chaplain and steward. This knight was bigoted to the old superstition; and therefore, though he loved Hooper for his personal qualities, he disliked that reformed doctrine which appeared in the converse and instruction of his reverend retainer, whom he found an excuse to send to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and the oracle of the Roman Catholic party; desiring his Lordship, in a private letter, to discourse with him on theological matters, and, whether successfully or not, to permit him to return unhurt. The prelate endeavoured in vain for four or five days to convince his guest of what he deemed his error, and suffered him to leave his roof without injury, giving him credit for learning and talent, but harbouring a secret grudge against him; of which Hooper receiving intelligence, left his patron's house, borrowing the horse of a friend whose life he appears to have been instrumental in preserving, and hastened to the coast, from whence he sailed to France, and spent a short time in Paris. He returned however to England, and lived with a gentleman of St. Loo, till he found it prudent to escape again; when, in the habit of a mariner, he made a perilous voyage to Ireland, going from thence to the Netherlands and Switzerland. At Zurich he was entertained with great kindness by Bullinger, with whom he commenced an intimacy, endeared by sympathy of feeling and similarity of circumstance, and leading to a correspondence, which terminated only with his life. Here he prosecuted his acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, and by advice of his friend united in marriage with a pious and amiable Burgundian.

On the accession of Edward VI. in 1547, he took an

early opportunity of returning to his native country, to forward the work of reformation. He waited on his friends to thank them for the hospitality he had experienced; and when he came to Bullinger, that eminent pastor took leave of him with an affecting sensibility. 'Master Hooper, although we are sorry to part with your company on our own cause, yet much greater cause have we to rejoice, both for your sake and on account of Christ's true religion, that you shall now return out of long banishment unto your own native country again; where not only you may enjoy your own private liberty, but also the cause and state of Christ's church by you may fare the better, as we doubt not but it shall. Another cause, moreover, why we rejoice with you and for you is this, that you shall remove not only out of exile into liberty, but you shall leave here a barren, sour, and unpleasant country, rude and savage, to go into a land flowing with milk and honey, replenished with all pleasure and fertility. Notwithstanding, with this our rejoicing, one fear and care we have, lest you being absent and so far distant from us, or else coming to such abundance of wealth and felicity in your new welfare, and plenty of all things, and in your flourishing honours, where you shall come peradventure to be a bishop, and where you shall find so many new friends, you will forget *us* your old acquaintance and well-wishers. Nevertheless, howsoever you shall forget or shake us off, yet this persuade yourself, that we will not forget our old friend and fellow Master Hooper. And if it shall please you not to forget us in return, then I pray you let us hear from you.'

He thanked Bullinger and the others present for their long and undeserved affection; declaring that the ruggedness of their country or its comparative sterility

of soil had in no degree influenced his removal, which originated purely in religious motives. 'As touching the forgetting of my old friends, although,' said he, 'the remembrance of a man's country naturally doth delight him, neither can I deny but God hath blessed my country of England with many great commodities; yet neither the nature of country, nor pleasure of commodities, nor newness of friends, shall ever induce me to the oblivion of such friends and benefactors, whom I am so entirely bound unto: and therefore you shall be sure from time to time to hear from me, and I will write unto you as it goeth with me. But the last news of all,' he added, with a sort of pathetic earnestness, and taking Bullinger by the hand, 'I shall not be able to write; for where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me to be burned to ashes: and *that* shall be the last news which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear it of me.' [1]

As soon as he reached London, he entered on the office of preaching, which he performed twice, or at least once, every day. In his sermons he boldly rebuked sin, inveighed against the abuses of the church, and vindicated the reformed tenets: while his eloquence, zeal, and aptness in scriptural quotation, attracted large congregations. He had great sweetness of temper; but thought it right, on account of the licentiousness of the commonalty, to wear so grave an aspect as to be sometimes mistaken by strangers for severity; a circumstance which honest Fox, with all his admiration of this good divine, cannot but regret; taking occasion to remark on the necessity of Christian ministers wearing the *appearance*, as well as possessing the *reality* of kindness and

[1] Fox, p. 1430.

accessibility. He hints that this injured his popularit y and led some persons to speak of him in a manner which he did not deserve. 'This by the way,' says he, 'I thought to note; for that there was once an honest citizen, and to me not unknown, which having in himself a certain conflict of conscience, came to his door for counsel; but being abashed at his austere behaviour, durst not come in, but departed, seeking remedy of his troubled mind at other men's hands, which he afterwards by the help of Almighty God did find and obtain.'

His residenee in Switzerland among sturdy republicans, and a certain strictness of manner acquired in early life as a Cistertian, might have contributed to this peculiar feature noticed by his biographer. However this be, his intimacy with the theologians of Basle and Zurich gave him a degree of attachment to their system and discipline which was not participated by his excellent brethren, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; and he was of opinion that the English reformation might have advantageously proceeded farther than it actually did, in rites and ceremonies, and particularly in the dress of the clergy. He was consequently much esteemed by the ultra-reformers of his day, while his learning, piety, and integrity were respected by all. He was appointed Chaplain to the Duke of Somerset, Protector of the Realm, and maternal uncle of the young monarch, and had the satisfaction of witnessing some important changes in ecclesiastical affairs, favourable to the cause which he had so much at heart. A committee of divines had been appointed to compose a Liturgy, which was published in 1549, with the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; the invocation of saints retrenched, and some superstitious forms abolished. The marriage of the

clergy was permitted; and although the use of flesh-meat was forbidden during Lent and other seasons of abstinence, the Romish ideas of penance and self-denial were gradually discountenanced.

From his connexion with the court, Hooper was called to preach before the King; and though his patron was removed from the Protectorate by the intrigues of his rival the Earl of Warwick, it did not hinder his preferment; as the latter recommended him to Edward, who appointed him to the see of Gloucester in 1550, and two years after to that of Worcester, which he held *in commendam* with the former; a measure which might be qualified by the consideration of the scanty revenue of Gloucester, but gave reasonable occasion for remark on the side of the Romanists; as it had been an old ecclesiastical abuse censured by the reforming party, and as its invidiousness was increased by the circumstance of the detention of his predecessor, Dr. Heath, in the Fleet Prison, for refusing his assent to the Book of Ordinations.

His elevation to the episcopal dignity brings under review that part of his character which is chiefly noticed by our church historians, his conscientious objection to certain sacerdotal vestments. He maintained that these were human inventions, handed down indeed from early ages, but contrary to Christian simplicity; that all such usages were condemned by St. Paul as beggarly elements, and too much connected with the service of the mass—an association so strenuously to be avoided, that he entreated to be excused an external appearance which might seem to give it countenance. Cranmer and Ridley, on the other hand, alleged, that traditions in matters of faith were deservedly rejected by all scriptural divines, but that custom

might be a good argument in mere concerns of rites and ceremonies. St. Paul's expressions referred to Jewish particulars, which some professors of Christianity, in the apostolic age, pleaded were still to be retained by virtue of their Mosaic institution. These were condemned by the Apostles, as implying that the Messiah was not yet come, of whom they had in fact been typical; though, when the bare observation of them, as a matter of expediency but not of necessity, was likely to gain the Jews, two of the Apostles themselves submitted to circumcision and legal purification. If, then, they who had such absolute authority in those matters, did condescend so far to the weakness of the Jews, it was much more becoming subjects to give obedience to laws in things indifferent. And the abuse that had been formerly was no better reason for taking away the use of these vestments, than it was to throw down churches and remove the bells, because the former had been consecrated and the latter baptized with many superstitious ceremonies. As bishops, therefore, themselves, who had previously admitted the expediency, or at least the indifference of such habits, they required him to conform to law and custom.[1]

The force of this reasoning was lost upon Hooper, who could neither consider the cases as parallel, nor allow the indifferent nature of the vestments. He refused to put on the white rocket, and Cranmer declared he would not consecrate him without it. He therefore petitioned the King to recall his nomination to the diocese of Gloucester, or to permit his consecration without the obnoxious vestments. Neither Edward nor his Council were willing to lose the benefit of his

[1] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. ii. pp. 152, 153.

services on the bench, and the following dispensation was immediately issued to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans:

'Right Reverend Father, and right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we, by the advice of our Council, have called and chosen our right well-beloved and well-worthy Master John Hooper, Professor of Divinity, to be our Bishop of Gloucester; as well for his great knowledge, deep judgment, and long study, both in the Scriptures and other prophane learning; as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and honest life for that kind of vocation: to the intent that all our loving subjects which are in his said charge, and elsewhere, might by his sound and true doctrine learn the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and love towards their neighbours: from consecrating of whom we understand you do stay, because he would have you omit and let pass certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby ye think you should fall in præmunire of the laws: we have thought good by the advice aforesaid to dispense and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures you should run, and be in, in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge therefore. Given under our signet at our Castle of Windsor, the 5th of August, the fourth year of our reign.

'Ed. Somerset. W. Paget.
W: Wiltshire. A. Wingfield.
W. North. N. Wotton.'[1]

The Earl of Warwick wrote also to the primate to

[1] Fox, ubi supra.

the same effect, but in vain. Cranmer denied that the King in Council had power to dispense in this manner, and moreover considered Hooper's obstinacy in so trivial a matter as justly censurable. He insisted, therefore, on his compliance, and suspended him meanwhile from preaching, while the Council confined him to his house. Ridley was appointed to confer with him on the subject, but to no purpose. The dispute was taken up in other quarters, and arguments on both sides urged in the pulpits and schools. Pious Protestants lamented its existence; some thinking that he ought to conform, others pleading for the right of conscience; while the Romanists rejoiced at witnessing such differences among the Reformers. Both parties consulted Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, and other learned foreigners then in England. They told Hooper, that in religious rites they were for keeping as close as possible to the Holy Scriptures, and the most uncorrupt ages of the church; but that they could not go so far as to believe, that the substance of religion was affected by the clothes we wear; and they thought things of this nature altogether indifferent, and left to our liberty by the word of God. Martyr in particular observed, that he should not spend his zeal on matters that were indifferent, lest the public should call in question the judgment of the reforming party in those that were essential. He reminded him, that an abstinence from things strangled, and from blood, was part of the Jewish institute; and yet that the council at Jerusalem commanded the Gentiles to observe it, to avoid giving offence. To a remark of Hooper, that 'we ought to have an express warrant from Scripture for every thing belonging to religion,' he replied, that if the general rules of order were observed, the governors

of the church had a discretionary latitude in little matters. Supposing, what he could not grant, that episcopal habits were introduced by the See of Rome, yet the contagion of Popery was not so malignant as to infect every thing with which it came in contact; and that to govern by such narrow maxims would lay an inconvenient restraint upon the church of God.[1]

These contentions alarmed the Council, who sent for Hooper, and required him to desist from further controversy, and submit to the accustomed forms. He was allowed, however, to present a book to the Council against the use of those habits which were then worn by the superior ecclesiastics. They then required Ridley to desist on his part, who claimed the right of presenting them with his arguments, which they could not in justice refuse. Hooper then published a confession of his faith, reflecting on the Council, who committed him to the custody of the Archbishop; and on the report of the latter, that his prisoner offered to prescribe rules for nonconformity to the public, he was sent to the Fleet. After staying there from August 1550 to March in the following year he was again brought before them, when he protested against the oath, 'So help me God, and all saints!' This objection the pious young monarch allowed to be just, and struck out the words '*all saints*' with his own hand. The point of the vestments was compromised on these conditions: 'He was to wear the episcopal habit when he was consecrated, and whenever he preached before the King, or in his Cathedral, or in any public place.' His consecration accordingly was performed at Lambeth (March

[1] Fuller's Church History, B. vii. p. 402.—Warner's Eccl. Hist. V. ii. p. 288, 289.

8), the Bishops of London and Rochester assisting; after which he preached before his sovereign, in the white rocket covering his shoulders, and the long scarlet chymere, or surtout.

All difficulties being thus surmounted, to the great pleasure of those who desired the peace of the church, the new Bishop became an example of diligence and hospitality. He preached in every part of his diocese; observed the most impartial administration; governed his household with the strictest decorum; entertained the poor every day in his common hall, whom he or his deputies afterward examined in the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments. When he succeeded to Worcester, on the 20th of May, 1551, he made a deed of gift of the revenues of Gloucester to the crown; which bishopric was virtually dissolved, or united to that of Worcester, so as to form one jurisdiction; and it is supposed that he enjoyed but a portion of the latter, as the Warwick party predominant at court found it expedient to support their interest by grants of ecclesiastical revenues, which argued at once the unsettled state of the government and the want of principle in the licensed depredators.

He had not discharged his high function for three years, before he was called to experience severer trials than had marked the morning of his life. While Edward lived, Protestantism flourished; but when his sister Mary succeeded, the reformed were hunted down on all sides with the most relentless cruelty. This reverse the royal youth anticipated; and almost his last words were, 'O my Lord God! defend this realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true religion!'

One of the first acts of the Queen was to send for Hooper to answer to the two charges, of intrusion into

the See of Worcester, during the life of Bishop Heath, and of accusation of Bonner, who was deprived of the See of London in 1550 for contumacy, to make way for Ridley. His friends foresaw the storm, and advised him to flee. 'No,' said he; 'once I fled and took me to my feet; but now, because I am called to this place, I am thoroughly persuaded to tarry, and to live and die with my sheep.' On his arrival at Richmond, on the first of September, 1553, he was taken before the Queen and Council on a pretext of debt to the royal treasury, the better to conceal the odiousness of his imprisonment on account of religion, after sustaining a load of invective from Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. He gave the Warden of the Fleet five pounds, as a fee for certain privileges on entering the gates; but the man no sooner received the money, than he made a complaint to Gardiner, who ordered the prisoner to close custody in the Tower chamber; but after three months he was allowed, at the instance of one Mrs. Wilkinson, to take his meals with the warden and his wife, who were bigoted Papists, and used to try to irritate him to say something which they might report, while he was interdicted converse with his friends. In consequence of a fresh representation by the Warden he was more closely confined, having straw for his bed, till some good people sent him a pallet; and in the neighbourhood of the common sewer, the stench of which made him so ill that he was often fain to call for relief, but to no purpose, though he paid high fees as a baron of the realm, and after deprivation, as a private gentleman.

On the 11th of March, 1554, he was called before the Bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Llandaff, and Chichester, who sat on a commission under the Chancellor.—Ch. 'Well, Master Hooper, are you a

married man?'—H. 'Yea, my Lord, and wish not to be otherwise, till death unmarry me.'—Dur. 'That is matter sufficient to deprive you.'—H. 'That it is not, my Lord; except ye do against the law.' Here the commissioners conferred, and then indulged in coarse jesting, while the spectators hooted. This was followed by vulgar abuse, and a dispute between the Bishop of Winchester and the prisoner on the meaning of certain texts, and the obligation of certain canons, respecting clerical celibacy. At length Judge Morgan railed at him, and charged him with cruel oppression at Gloucester; after which, Day, Bishop of Chichester, observed, that the Council of Ancyra, which preceded that of Nice, was against the marriage of priests. Then the Chancellor and others cried out, that he had never read the Councils. 'Yes, my Lord,' said Hooper; 'and my Lord of Chichester knows, that this Council of Nice, by means of Paphnutius, decreed that no minister should be separated from his wife.' Finding themselves baffled, they changed the mode of attack. Dur. 'Do you believe the corporal presence in the Sacrament?'—H. 'There is no such thing, neither do I believe it.'—Win. 'What authority have you for not believing the corporal presence?'—H. 'The authority of God's word. It is said, *whom the heaven must receive, until the times of restitution of all things.*'—Win. 'He may be in heaven, and in the sacrament also.'—When the prisoner would have replied, the bystanders became clamorous, and the notaries were directed to make out his deprivation on the grounds of contumacy on the subject of marriage, and the denial of transubstantiation.

Another examination occurred on the 22d of Jan. 1555, at the Bishop of Winchester's house in St. Mary's

Overy; when that prelate exhorted him 'to forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine preached in the days of Edward VI. and return to the unity of the Catholic Church, and acknowledge the Pope's Holiness to be the head of that church, according to the determination of the whole Parliament; on which conditions the Queen would show him mercy.'—H. 'Forasmuch as the Pope teaches doctrine contrary to that of Christ, he is not worthy to be counted a member of Christ's Church, much less the head. Wherefore I shall in no wise condescend to any such usurpation, nor do I reckon that the Catholic Church which calls him head; for the church only heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and will not follow a stranger. Howbeit, if in any point to me unknown I have offended the Queen's majesty, I shall most humbly submit myself to her mercy, if mercy may be had with safety of conscience, and without the displeasure of God.'—Win. 'The Queen will show no mercy to the enemies of the Pope.'

A third examination took place on the 28th; but as he continued firm, he was committed, with Rogers, another Protestant, to the care of the Sheriffs, to be confined in Southwark Compter till nine the next morning; when, as they came out, he said, 'Well, brother, must you and I take this matter first in hand, and begin to burn these faggots?'—'Yea, Sir,' answered his companion, 'by God's grace.'—'Doubt not,' replied he, 'but God will give it.' The next day they were brought before the Commissioners, when they were both degraded and ordered to the Clink, a prison near the Bishop of Winchester's house. For security against attempt at rescue, Hooper was conducted to Newgate at night; but many persons who awaited his return, came out with lights, saluting him and praising

God for his constancy, while he intreated their prayers. During the six days that he lay in Newgate, Bonner and others endeavoured to convert him both by promises and threats, and reported that he had recanted; on which he sent out a solemn denial. Bonner read him the sentence of degradation, in which he was styled a priest. Rogers and he were delivered over to the secular arm; the former suffered in Smithfield; but the latter heard with joy that he was to be executed at Gloucester, hoping to confirm in death the truth he had taught in life.

At early dawn on the 5th of February a body of the Queen's guards received him from the Sheriffs near St. Dunstan's, and immediately proceeded to Gloucester. He arrived at Cirencester about eleven o'clock on the 7th, and dined at the inn of a woman who hated the truth, and had always spoken evil of him. She burst into tears; and seeing his cheerfulness, confessed that she had often said, he would not endure if put to the trial. At five o'clock he was met about a mile from Gloucester by a weeping crowd. He ate a hearty supper; and having slept a little, passed the rest of the night in prayer and meditation. In the morning Sir Anthony Kingston, who had been his friend, but was now appointed one of those who were to superintend his execution, came to him in deep distress, exhorting him to choose life, if yet he could, for life was sweet and death bitter; to whom he replied, 'that his advice was friendly, but not so friendly as he could wish—that death to come was more bitter, life to come more sweet—and that he came to die at Gloucester, because he would not deny the truth he had taught there.'—'Well, my Lord,' said Kingston, 'may God support you! To

you I owe the knowledge of the truth; for I was an adulterer before I heard your instructions.'

He was led to execution on the morning of the 9th, in a cloak belonging to one Ingram, at whose house he lodged, a hat on his head, and a staff to support him, having contracted rheumatism in his confinement. Being forbidden to speak to the people, he looked cheerfully on those whom he recognized, or lifted up his eyes devoutly to heaven. Arriving at the great elm before a college where he used to preach, he smiled at the stake and faggots, and kneeling down prayed for half an hour on the clauses of the Creed. In the midst of his supplication, a box was laid before him, which he was told contained a pardon if he would recant; but he cried, 'O, if ye love my soul, away with it, away with it, away with it!' He then added this emphatic address: 'Lord, I am hell, but thou art Heaven! I am a sink of iniquity, but thou art a merciful Redeemer! Have mercy then on me a wretched offender, according to thine inestimable goodness. Thou that art ascended into heaven receive me, albeit so unworthy, to share thy joy, where thou sittest in equal glory with the Father. For well thou knowest why I suffer, and why the wicked persecute thy servant: not for my sins against thee, but because I will not allow of their wicked doings, to the polluting thy blood, and denying that truth in which by thy Spirit thou hast instructed me. I have endeavoured, as thereunto called, to set forth thy glory. Thou seest, my Lord and God, the torments prepared for me. What is impossible with man is possible with thee. Therefore, strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to thy glory!'

He prepared himself for the stake by giving the cloak to the Sheriffs, that it might be restored to the owner; but wished to die in his doublet and hose, which was prohibited, and he was stripped to the shirt, which he decently disposed. A bladder of gunpowder was fastened under each arm, and between his legs. Three iron hoops being prepared to fasten him to the stake, he put one round his waist, saying, 'I am assured this will do; God will enable me to endure without so much fastening.' At first the faggots being green, and the wind blowing away the flame, his legs were only scorched. More fuel was supplied, when his lower extremities were burnt, while his vitals remained untouched; yet he prayed mildly, 'O Jesu, receive my spirit!' then wiping his eyes in agony, he cried, 'For the love of God, give me more fire!' The executioner excited more flame, but still he survived. He then beat his breast till one arm fell off, when he continued beating with the other, and moving his lips in prayer; nor did he expire till he had borne his torments for nearly three quarters of an hour.

Among some excellent letters written during his confinement is one to his beloved Anne, whom he had sent over with his children to Bullinger. This friend wrote him a long epistle from Zurich, full of godly consolation and exhortation to the English confessors of Christ to persevere, fight the good fight, and be faithful unto the end; as Christ was their Captain, and all the prophets, apostles, and martyrs, were their fellow soldiers.

Browne.

Intimately connected as the countries of England and Ireland have been for so many centuries as integral parts of the same empire, and united as are now their ecclesiastical establishments, an interest may be claimed on both sides in the account of a divine, who began that distinguished career in one, which was destined to close in the other; more especially as his name classes in historical division with such excellent contemporaries, as the Elizabethan Reformers.

George Browne was educated in the house of the Augustine friars, near Holywell in Oxford, on the site of Wadham College, and for his learning, humility, and suavity, was promoted to the station of Provincial of their order in England. He took the degree of doctor of divinity in a foreign university, but in 1534 was admitted to the same distinction at Oxford, and soon after at Cambridge. Having had access to the writings of the great German reformer, he became his partner in religious sentiment, as he was his brother in monastic profession, and ventured to teach, among other articles of a purer faith, 'That men should make their application to Christ alone, and not to the Virgin Mary, or the Saints.' His zeal for the reformed cause rendered him so acceptable to Henry the Eighth, that that monarch promoted him to the Archbishopric of Dublin, to which he was consecrated on the 19th of April,

1535, by Archbishop Cranmer, assisted by the diocesans of Rochester and Salisbury. Dr. Lingard, in referring to the affairs of the sister island under the reign in question, is pleased to call him 'a *courtly* prelate, raised to that see in *reward* of his subserviency to the politics of Cromwell.' What could induce that author to speak in this slighting manner does not appear, except that his own religious opinions betray him into unfavourable suspicions of such characters as were attached to the Reformation.

Soon after his arrival in Ireland, he received a letter from Cromwell, the lord privy-seal, informing him that His Majesty having renounced the papal supremacy in England, it was his Highness's pleasure, that his subjects of Ireland should obey his commands in that respect as in the former country, and nominated him as one of the commissioners. His Grace could not but accept the commission; while his good sense and better feeling must have suggested the religious and political absurdity of ordering a whole nation, (entrenched in ancient prejudices, conquered in name rather than fact, and keenly susceptible of injury) by a stroke of the pen, to give up on the instant a leading dogma of their creed. The new prelate, however, reported proceedings to his correspondent in the following winter to this effect:

'My most honoured Lord! Your humble servant receiving your mandate as one of his Highness's commissioners, hath endeavoured, almost to the danger and hazard of his temporal life, to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience, in owning his Highness their supreme head as well spiritual and temporal, and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother Armagh, who hath been the main

oppugner; and so hath withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy, within his see and jurisdiction. He made a speech to them, laying a curse on the people, whosoever should own his Highness's supremacy; saying, that this Isle, as it is in their Irish chronicles, *Insula sacra*, belongs to none but the Bishop of Rome, and that it was the Bishop of Rome's predecessors gave it to the King's ancestors. There be two messengers by the Priests of Armagh, and by that Archbishop, now lately sent to the Bishop of Rome. Your lordship may inform his Highness, that it is convenient to call a parliament in this nation to pass the supremacy act; for they do not much matter his Highness's commission which your lordship sent us over. This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish orders; and as for secular orders, they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass, or pronounce the words, they themselves not knowing what they say in the Roman tongue. The common people of this isle are not more zealous in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs were in the truth at the beginning of the gospel. I send to you, my very good lord, these things, that your lordship and his Highness, may consult what is to be done. It is feared O'Neal will be ordered by the Bishop of Rome to oppose your lordship's orders from the King's Highness; for the natives are much in numbers within his power. I do pray the Lord Christ to defend you from your enemies.'—Dublin: 4 Kalend. Decembris. 1535.

No exertion was wanting on his part to promote the King's wishes. A concise but pithy address which he made in parliament was mainly instrumental in passing the act. 'My Lords and Gentry of this his majesty's realm of Ireland! Behold, your obedience to your

King is the observing of your God and Saviour Christ; for He, that high priest of our souls, paid tribute to Cæsar, though no Christian. Greater honour, then, surely is due to your Prince, his Highness the King, and a Christian one. Rome and her Bishops, in the fathers' days, acknowledged Emperors, Kings, and Princes to be supreme over their dominions, nay, Christ's own vicars. And it is as much to the Bishop of Rome's shame to deny what their precedent Bishops owned. Therefore his Highness claims but what he can justify the Bishop Eleutherius gave to Saint Lucius the first Christian King of the Britains. So that I shall without scruple vote His Highness King Henry, my supreme over ecclesiastical matters as well as temporal, and head thereof, even of both isles England and Ireland, and that without guilt of conscience, or sin to God; and he who will not pass this Act, as I do, is no true subject to his Highness.'

He found an able supporter in the person of Justice Brabazon; but his own clergy, encouraged secretly by the Primate, and unwilling to relinquish the hold which the ancient superstitions gave them on the common people, were among his chief opponents. The Prior of the Holy Trinity, and the Dean of St. Patrick's, with their respective canons, who derived considerable profit from the relics and images, gave the alarm to the Pope, and desired him to lose no time in sending over a mandate against the proceedings of the reforming party. The more bigoted of the clergy, and factious of the laity, endeavoured to foment rebellion against the government, by depreciating the Lord Cromwell, and inviting the Duke of Norfolk to place himself at the head of the insurgents. It was rumoured that promises of great rewards were made from Rome to

that nobleman and his family, while indulgences for rebellion were actually sent over. But intelligence of these measures reaching the ears of the Archbishop, he warned Cromwell to be on his guard as to his own life and influence in the state, and in particular to send a formal order to himself to remove the relics and images out of his churches, with directions to the civil authorities to aid him in the execution. The Pope sent over a bull of excommunication against all who owned the royal supremacy, but gave a special commission to the Archbishop of Armagh and his clergy to oppose the act, and curse all persons who should not confess within forty days their error in its acceptance. He further required an oath of obedience from those who made confession, the insertion of which, as bearing on the grand question of papal authority subsequently agitated in the Irish nation, may gratify a just curiosity:

'I, A. B. from this present hour forward, in the presence of the Holy Trinity, of the blessed Virgin Mother of God, of St. Peter, of the holy Apostles, archangels, angels, saints, and of all the holy host of heaven, shall and will be always obedient to the holy see of St. Peter of Rome, and to my holy Lord the Pope of Rome and his successors in all as well spiritual as temporal, not consenting in the least that his holiness shall lose the least title or dignity belonging to the papacy of our mother church of Rome, or to the regality of St Peter. I do vow and swear to maintain, help, and assist the just laws, liberties, and rights of the mother church of Rome. I do likewise promise to confer, to defend and promote, if not personally yet willingly as far as able, either by advice, skill, estate, money, or otherwise, the Church of Rome and her laws, against all whatsoever resisting the same.

I further vow to oppugn all heretics, either in making or setting forth edicts or commands contrary to the mother Church of Rome, and in case any such be moved or composed, to resist it to the uttermost of my power, with the first convenience and opportunity I can possibly. I count and value all acts, made or to be made by heretical powers, of no force or worth, to be practised or obeyed by myself, or by any other son of the mother Church of Rome. I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friends, or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold, for the time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil power above the authority of the mother church; or that do or shall obey, for the time to come, any of her, the mother of churches, opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, which I have here sworn unto. So God, the blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Holy Evangelists help me!'

When Dr. Browne had obtained a copy of this memorable document, he ordered his secretary to translate it, and dispatched it to Cromwell. Sir Anthony St. Leger, who succeeded the Lord Leonard Grey in the vice-royalty, found it difficult to cause his authority to be respected on account of the dislike of the natives to the English government. At this critical season the Romish clergy inflamed their minds against Henry, as one who ruled them by an unjustifiable tenure, and was now increasing their injuries by forcing protestantism upon them; and this representation had such general effect, that even the families of English descent united with the aboriginal lords,

merging private differences in the grand cause of national revenge, and withholding the customary tributes; while the evils of intestine commotion or foreign invasion were apprehended. On Midsummer-day, 1538, the Archbishop on good grounds of suspicion, ordered the arrest of Thady O'Brien, a Franciscan Friar, and sent him over to Cromwell, when the following inflammatory paper was found upon him, signed by the Bishop of Metz.

'My son O'Neal! Thou and thy fathers were all along faithful to the mother Church of Rome. His holiness, Paul, now pope, and the Council of the holy Fathers there, *have lately found out a prophecy* there remaining, of one Saint Lacerianus, an Irish Bishop of Cashell, wherein he saith, 'that the mother church of Rome falleth, when in Ireland the Catholic faith is overcome:' therefore for the glory of the mother church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own secureness, suppress heresy and his holiness's enemies; for when the Roman faith there perisheth, the See of Rome falleth also; therefore the Council of Cardinals have thought fit to encourage your country of Ireland, as a sacred island, being certified, whilst the mother church hath a son of worth as yourself, and of those that shall succour you, and join therein, that she will never fall, but have more or less a holding in Britain *in spite of fate*. Thus having obeyed the order of the most sacred Council, we recommend your princely person to the holy Trinity of the blessed Virgin of St. Peter, St. Paul, and of all the heavenly host of heaven. Amen. Romæ, 4 Kalend. Maiæ, 1538.

Episcopus Metensis.'

This strange specimen of cunning and ignorance, one of the most extraordinary that was ever drawn up

by a society calling itself Christian, was well calculated to work on the passions of the semi-barbarous race to whom it was directed. The chieftain declared himself the champion of popery, and with some active associates raised an insurrection, which however was soon quelled. As for the bearer of the letter, he was put in the pillory, and confined till the King's further orders; but through desperation he laid violent hands on himself. The corpse, by way of example, was nevertheless hanged up, and afterwards buried near the gallows: though the Franciscans, who of course regarded him as a meritorious martyr, are understood to have removed it to their monastery in Dublin.

The Archbishop, zealously continuing the work of reformation, not only removed relics and images out of his two great churches in the capital, but also out of all the parochial places of worship in the diocese; substituting the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in gilt letters and frames. In 1541, his Majesty converted the Priory of the Holy Trinity into a Cathedral, consisting of a Dean and Chapter, a chanter, a treasurer, six vicars choral, and two singing-boys. King James, however, thought proper to alter their arrangement, constituting a Dean, a chanter, a chancellor, a treasurer, three prebends, six vicars choral, and four singing-boys; ordering likewise that the Archdeacon should have a place in the choir, and a vote in the chapter. Some years after the Archbishop founded prebendal stalls, named St. Michael's, St. John's, and St. Michan's, from which time it has been called Christ-church. This concise ecclesiastical detail may be permitted, amid more important matter, in a biographical sketch of our distinguished prelate.

His plans of reform were displeasing to Dr. Dowdal,

who succeeded Dr. Cromer in the Primacy as Archbishop of Armagh; but when the young monarch Edward the Sixth was aided in his pious designs by counsellors who had at heart the interests of true religion, the Archbishop was informed, to his great satisfaction, that measures were to be pursued in Ireland similar to those which had been transacted in the sister country. The Lord-deputy, convening the principal clergy, signified his Majesty's order, as also the opinion of the English bishops and other ecclesiastics, that the Liturgy of the church should be read or sung, and the Scriptures read in English, in assemblies for divine service, the same as in England; on which the Primate rose, and with much warmth remarked, 'Then shall every illiterate fellow read mass!' 'No,' said St. Leger, 'your Grace is mistaken, for we have too many illiterate priests amongst us already, who neither can pronounce the Latin, nor know what it means, more than the common people that hear them; but when the people hear the Liturgy in English, they and the priest will then understand what they pray for.' 'Beware,' answered Dowdal, 'of the clergy's curse!' 'I fear no strange curse, so long as I have the blessing of that church which I believe to be the true one,' replied the deputy coolly. 'Can there be a truer church, than the church of St. Peter, the mother church of Rome?' inquired the indignant Primate. 'I thought we had been all of the church of Christ;' answered St. Leger, 'for he calls all true believers in him his church, and himself the Head thereof.' 'And is not St. Peter the church of Christ?' asked Dowdal. 'St. Peter was a member of Christ's church,' replied St. Leger, 'but the church was not St. Peter's; neither was St. Peter, but Christ, the head thereof.' The

Primate then quitted the assembly, followed by several of the bishops and clergy. Staples, bishop of Meath, Lancaster, bishop of Kildare, Travers, bishop of Leighlin, and Coyn, bishop of Limerick, were among those who adhered to Browne, who observed, 'This order, brethren, is from our gracious King, and from the fathers and clergy of England, who have compared the Holy Scriptures with what they have done; unto whom I submit, as Jesus did to Cæsar, in all things just and lawful, making no question why or wherefore, as we own him our true and lawful King.' On Easter day, 1551, the service was performed in English at Christ-church, in the presence of the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop, and the Corporation of Dublin; on which occasion the Diocesan preached an appropriate sermon, from Psalm cxix. 18. "*Open thou mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law.*"

'The wonders of the Lord God have for a long time been hid from the children of men; which hath happened from Rome's not permitting the common people to read the Holy Scriptures; for to prevent you, that you might not know the comfort of your salvation, but to depend wholly on the church of Rome, they will not permit it to be in any tongue but the Latin, saying that Latin was the Roman tongue. But the wonderful God inspired the holy Apostles with the knowledge of all languages, that they might teach all people in their proper tongue and language; which caused our wise King Henry before his death to have the Holy Scriptures transcribed into the English tongue, for the good of his subjects, that "their eyes may be opened, to behold the wondrous things out of the law of the Lord." But there are false prophets at this instant, and will be to the end of the world, that

shall deceive you with false doctrines, expounding this text, or that, purposely to confound your understandings, and to lead you captive into a wilderness of confusion, whom you shall take as your friends, but they shall be your greatest enemies, speaking against the tenets of Rome, and yet be set on by Rome; these shall be a rigid people, full of fury and envy. But to prevent these things that are to come, observe Christ and his Apostles: "Let all things be done with decency," with mildness, and in order; fervently crying unto God, "Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold the wondrous things out of thy law;" then should you rightly keep the law and the prophets. It is the part of a prince to be wise, for he hath a great charge to rule and govern a nation. Your late King, foreseeing Rome and her Pope's intentions, how that he intended to enslave his subjects, and to keep them in the state of ignorance, consulted with the learned of his realm, knowing that youth might quickly be wrought on; therefore he prepared, before his death, a wise and learned sort of counsellors for his son's overseers; not trusting to one or two, but to several, that he might the better rule his people; whose eyes the Lord God Almighty hath opened betimes, to behold his wondrous works.

'Though the words of my text be plainly thus, "Open thou mine eyes," the meanest of you that hear me have eyes; but the true meaning of the words is, Endue us with understanding. For a fool hath eyes, and sees men, women, beasts, birds, and other things, but yet wants understanding. So, when we say, "Open thou our eyes," we desire the Lord God to instruct and teach us the knowledge of his laws.

'When you were lately led in blindness, your eyes beheld the images that then stood in several of the

monasteries and churches, until they were removed: yet all this while were your understandings blinded; because ye believed in them, and placed your trust in them. Suppose an artist or workman make an image, either of man or woman, and at last a clergyman of Rome give it such a name, calling it St. Peter, or St. Paul, or St. Mary, or St. Anne; must not that man, though he behold his own handy-work, and knows in his heart that it was his own work, be blind, and void of reason and understanding of the law of God, and of the "wondrous things that are contained in the law of the Lord?" Yes, surely, he must be blind, and void of reason, and of the true faith, that would worship the same. The workman carved the eyes, but these eyes see not; he likewise carved the ears, but they hear not; the nose, and it smells not; the mouth, and it neither breathes nor speaks; the hands, they feel not; the feet, but they stand stock still. How, therefore, can your prayers be acceptable unto this image, that sees you not approaching towards it, that hears you not when you pray to it, that smells not the sweet smells, be they of myrrh or frankincese burning before it? How can it absolve you, when the mouth is not able to say, Thy sins are forgiven thee? And if you place a certain sum of money in the palm of the hand of that image; come you again to-morrow, the money, it is true, shall find a customer, but the image never the wiser who took it: and if you desire to have it come to you, it cannot without help: therefore the workman, that made this image, is as blind, as deaf, as dumb, and as void of sense, as the image itself; and so be ye all, that put your trust in them.

'Therefore, of late, new artificers, by springs, have made artificial ones, which, for a certain time, shall

move, and ye shall believe it to be real and certain: but beware, good people, for they be but lying wonders, purposely that ye may break the law of God. And thus hath the Devil devised a lying wonder, that ye may be deluded to break the law of the Lord, which is, "Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image. O Lord, open thou our eyes, our ears, and our understanding, that we may behold the wondrous things that are in thy law. The law of God is an undefiled law." Oh! why should we be so wicked then; as to defile that law, which the Almighty God hath made so pure without blemish. Jesus came to fulfil the law, and not to abolish the law. But there is a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves Jesuits, which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes' and Pharisees' manner. Amongst the Jews they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it: for these sorts will turn themselves into several forms; with the heathen, a heathenist—with atheists, an atheist—with the Jews, a Jew—and, with the Reformers, a Reformade; purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like the fool, that said in his heart, "There is no God." These shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein, unto them, and yet they not perceive it: which will happen from falling from the law of God, by neglect of fulfilling of the law of God, and by winking at their sins; yet, in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them; so that at the end, they shall

become odious to all nations. They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting place upon earth; and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit. Now, to arm you all good Christians against these things that are to come, lest ye be led into temptation, cry unto the Lord your God, and heartily pray that he would be so merciful unto you, as to open the eyes of your understanding, that you may behold the wonders and pleasantness that is in his law. Which God of his infinite mercy grant that we may all do.'[1]

That part of this short address, (which is more in the style of the scholastic common-places of the day, than a modern sermon) where the political sagacity of the preacher rises to somewhat of prophetic inspiration, will be read with peculiar interest by those who have seen the declaration *verified to the letter*. His remarks on false prophets were directed against the Primate and his partizans, who shut their eyes against the rising light, and preferred to continue blind leaders of the blind. In fact, the outrageous behaviour of Dowdal was so offensive to the Sovereign and Privy Council, that he was deprived of the title of Primate of all Ireland, which was conferred on Browne, and his successors in the See of Dublin. One of the first acts, however, of the vindictive reign of Mary, was to deprive him of this dignity, and his Archbishopric also, under pretence that he was married; when Dowdal, who had lived in exile during part of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, recovered the title, and the Archbishopric, which had been presented to Hugh Goodacre. That Queen dealt severely with the other prelates who had sided with Browne. As to the Archbishop himself,

[1] Harleian Miscellany, vol. v. p. 566.

he proved in a remarkable manner that the God whom he served faithfully in the season of prosperity, did not forsake him in the hour of adversity. About a month before the death of her Majesty, she ordered Dr. Cole to proceed to Ireland, with a commission against the Protestants; who, on his passage through Chester, was waited on by the Mayor. As they were conversing, the Doctor took a small leather box out of a travelling-bag, saying, "Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland.' Elizabeth Mattershad, the hostess, was a zealous Protestant, and having a brother, who was a citizen of Dublin, of the same persuasion, was rendered so uneasy at overhearing this declaration, that when the Doctor attended the Mayor down stairs, on his taking leave, she opened the box, took out the commission, and placed in its stead a sheet of paper, inclosing a pack of cards, with the *knave of clubs* turned uppermost. On his return to his chamber, the Doctor put up his box as before, and the next day, the wind being fair, sailed for Dublin, where, on his arrival, he was invited to attend Fitz-walters, the Deputy, and the Privy Council, at the castle. As soon as he had made an address on the subject of his commission, he presented the box with all due respect to the Deputy, who directed it to be opened, that the Secretary might read the commission; when the confusion of the Doctor, and the astonishment of the Council, may be better conceived than expressed. Dr. Cole assured his Lordship that he had a commission, but knew not what was become of it. 'Well,' said his Excellency, 'let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the meantime.' The Doctor, returning to England, obtained another commission, and was actually at the coast, on a second visit to Ireland, when

all was invalidated by the Queen's decease. Lord Fitz-walters, on his recal from his lieutenancy, related this anecdote to Queen Elizabeth, who was so much pleased with the zeal and humour of the hostess, that she sent for her to court, and gave her a pension of forty pounds for life, 'for saving her Protestant subjects of Ireland.'[1]

It is to be regretted that the materials of the life of Archbishop Browne are not more numerous, and that no certain record is left of his decease. It appears, however, from the most unsuspicious testimony, that he was a prelate of truly apostolic character, ruling well the house of God; of a peaceable disposition, open and honest manner, compassionate to the poor, and uniformly active in his religious duties; while the cheerfulness of his countenance was the general index of a heart enjoying the blessedness of the hope of salvation.[2]

[1] Lord Corke's Memorials. Sir James Ware's Manuscripts.
[2] Usher's Memorials.

Bale.

Of that prelate of the Irish church, whose critical powers were so well employed, in the eventful period of the Reformation, in detecting and exposing Romish frauds and errors, that he gained more credit for labour in this respect than Luther or Vergerius, some account, though limited, may be desirable. John, the son of Henry and Margaret Bale, was born Nov. 21, 1495, at the little village of Cove, near Dunwich, in Suffolk. His parents were in poor circumstances, but found means to send him for the purpose of study to a carmelite convent in Norwich, and to Jesus College, at Cambridge. He afterwards became a sincere convert to the reformed doctrine, and the manner in which he describes this change, though somewhat antiquated, shows a spiritual frame and an enlightened understanding.

'I wandered in utter ignorance and blindness of mind both at Norwich and at Cambridge, having no tutor or patron; till, the word of God shining forth, the churches began to return to the pure fountains of true divinity. In which bright rising of the New Jerusalem, being not called by any monk or priest, but seriously stirred up by the illustrious the Lord Wentworth, as by that Centurion who declared Christ to be the Son of God, I presently saw and acknowledged my own deformity,

and immediately through the divine goodness, I was removed from a barren mountain to the flowery and fertile valley of the Gospel, where I found all things built, not on the sand, but on a solid rock. Hence I made haste to deface the mark of wicked Antichrist, and entirely threw off his yoke from me, that I might be partaker of the lot and liberty of the sons of God.'

Convinced that the obligation to lead a single life, enjoined on the Romish clergy, had no foundation in Scripture, he married a pious and amiable lady, whose conjugal attentions through a long course of trials, which he was called to experience from his attachment to a purer faith, proved that in his case, as well as in many others, 'a prudent wife is from the Lord.' He was much persecuted by those ecclesiastics with whom he had been acquainted before his conversion, and who from conscientious or interested motives, still adhered to the old system; but the protection of Lord Thomas Cromwell, to whom with the title of Vicegerent, Henry the Eighth had delegated the supremacy in church matters which he had wrested from the Pope, secured him from the more violent effects of their resentment. But the fall of that nobleman, which put an end to the office of vicegerency, because none of the reforming party chose to succeed to a station so obnoxious and dangerous, from the character of the monarch and the fluctuation of the times, was an event that altered the circumstances of such ministers as favoured the new tenets. The opposers of reformation gained strength at Court. The influence of Cromwell had prevented the full operation of the statute of the Six Articles, passed in 1539, which enforced by the severest

penalties many doctrines and practices of popery; but, that check was no sooner withdrawn, than their indignation burst forth with augmented violence. Dr. Bale effected his retreat into the Low Countries, where he resided seven or eight years, exercising his pen against the Romish superstitions.

He was recalled to England by King Edward the Sixth, and presented to the living of Bishopstoke, in the county of Southampton, where his friendship was cultivated by Poynet, the worthy diocesan of Winchester. Here he lived in great retirement, giving himself up to the duties of his parish. When the young monarch visited Southampton in the year 1552, he was surprised by a sight of the Doctor, who he had been informed was dead, but who had come over from his parsonage, about five miles distant, to offer his duty to his Sovereign. His majesty had a high respect for the learning, piety, and judgment of Bale, and signified his pleasure to the privy-council, to bestow on him the vacant bishopric of Ossory, in Ireland. When he was summoned to attend the Court to receive this token of the royal favour, he declined the offer on account of his age aud infirmities, but the King would not admit his excuses, and he went to London about six weeks after, where his election and confirmation were soon dispatched, and without cost, in consideration of his narrow circumstances. On the nineteenth of December he set out for Bristol, where he waited twenty-six days for a passage to Ireland, and embarking with his wife and one servant, arrived in two days at Waterford, whence he departed for Dublin. On the twenty-fifth of the following March, he was consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the Bishops

of Kildare and Down; his friend Goodacre being consecrated at the same time to the Archbishopric of Armagh.

Feeling much compassion for the ignorance of the people, he was a frequent and zealous preacher of the gospel of salvation, while he expended nearly the whole of his episcopal revenue in acts of piety and beneficence. But the state of the country rendered it peculiarly unfavourable to the reception of religious truth. His charity and integrity had but little effect in conciliating the natives, encouraged in their opposition by stubborn and bigoted superiors; and though God put honour on his faithful testimony, by bringing many of his hearers to an acquaintance with the word of life, yet he was the object of bitter hatred to the surrounding priesthood, the majority of whom were immersed in profligacy and superstition, and who were irritated at his endeavours to abolish the mass, and introduce the new book of Common Prayer. On the death of Edward and the accession of Mary, the papists gave a loose to their enmity against their protestant neighbours, and the life of the bishop was frequently endangered. On one occasion, they murdered five of his domestics, who were making hay in a meadow near his house, and would probably have completed the scene of carnage by the assassination of their master, had not the governor of Kilkenny received instant intelligence of the outrage, and galloped off to his assistance with a hundred horse, and a detachment of three hundred foot.

But though he providentially escaped from this attack of the rude peasantry, yet he was so well ascertained of the machinations of the priests, who were conspiring his death, that he withdrew from his see, and concealed himself in Dublin. Afterwards, endeavouring

to make his escape in a small trading vessel, he was taken prisoner by the captain of a Dutch man of war, who rifled him of his money, apparel, and effects. This trial was followed by another still more alarming; for, when the ship was driven through stress of weather into St. Ives, on the Cornish coast, the bishop was apprehended on suspicion of treason, the Irish pilot, who was an unprincipled character, lodging an accusation against him, in the hope of sharing the money which had fallen into the hands of the captain. The charge, however, was so preposterous, as not to admit a shadow of support; for on the examination before one of the bailiffs of the town, the pilot was asked on what ground he made it, and knew not what to answer. The bishop having requested the magistrate to demand of his accuser how long he had known him, and of what practices against the government he was presumed to be guilty, that officer put the question in the following shape; 'What treason have you known by this honest gentleman? for I promise you he looks like an honest man.' 'Marry,' replied Walter, he would have fled into Scotland.' 'Why,' said the Bailiff, 'know you any impediment why he should not have gone into Scotland? If it be treason for a man, having business in Scotland, to go thither, it is more than I knew before.' The captain and purser entering the room as the examination was prosecuting, deposed in his favour, assuring the bailiff that he was a very honest man as far as they had had an opportunity of knowing him, and that the pilot was totally undeserving of credit. In this event the divine providence was exerted in the release of a servant of God, by overruling the designs of wicked men, and making one plan of dishonesty counteract another; the captain himself earnestly desiring to put

a stop to the investigation, lest the money he had so unjustly obtained should be taken from him.

On the arrival of the same vessel in Dover roads, another false accusation awaited the bishop. Martin, a Frenchman by birth, but an English pirate, persuaded the Dutch captain and his crew, that Bale been the principal instrument in effecting the abolition of the mass, and in procuring the lengthened detention of the popish champion, Dr. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in the Tower of London; adding withal, that he had poisoned the King. Notwithstanding the gross improbability of these charges, especially the latter, in an age when every fabrication was entertained with willing car, which could by any possibility implicate a Protestant, credit was affected to be given to them. The captain and purser, receiving this information, went ashore, carrying with them the bishop's seal, and two letters sent him from Conrad Gesner and Alexander Ellis, with commendations from several German and Swiss reformers, who desired information on the doctrines and antiquities of the English Church. They also took from him the letter from the council, concerning his appointment to the See of Ossory. It is difficult to conceive what confirmation such articles could give to the abominable charges brought against him. Owing, however, to the united influence of ignorance and ill-will, the episcopal seal was construed to be a counterfeiting of the royal signet, the two letters were declared to be manifestly heretical, and the official document bearing the signatures of eight members of his late Majesty's privy council, was adjudged to bear so suspicious an appearance, that it looked very like a conspiracy against the reigning sovereign. When the captain returned to his ship, a consultation was

held as to the better mode of proceeding with regard to the person accused of such weighty crimes; and after a discussion on the expediency of carrying the Bishop at once to London, it was resolved to dispatch the purser, and another individual as a witness, with a message to the government. This resolution was at length abandoned, on a strong remonstrance from the injured Prelate, and his consent to pay fifty pounds for his ransom, on his arrival in Holland.

He was conveyed to Zealand, and lodged in apartments belonging to one of the owners of the vessel, who seems to have been an humane person, and who treated him with much kindness. His situation, nevertheless, was perplexing, as only twenty-six days were allowed him for raising the sum agreed to be paid for his ransom, and he was not permitted to quit the place of his confinement to seek his friends and make the necessary arrangements. Meanwhile, as a suspected character, he was sometimes threatened to be thrown into the common gaol, sometimes to be brought before the magistrates, sometimes to be left to the examination of the clergy, sometimes to be sent to London, or given up to the British Ambassador at Brussels. It pleased God in this extremity to raise him up a friend in his kind host, who interceded with the captain in his behalf, representing in just colours the unwarrantable nature of his conduct in detaining a subject of the English crown, with which the Dutch were at peace. This argument so far prevailed with the Captain, that he was persuaded to take only thirty pounds for the Bishop's ransom, as he should be able to pay, and so to discharge him. He then retired to Basle in Switzerland, where he continued during the reign of Queen Mary.

It appears from divers passages in his prefatory epistles and dedications, that he found solid satisfaction in the intercourse which he maintained with the reforming divines and scholars of the continent. On the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England; but whether he had imbibed some prejudice against episcopacy, or that circumstances hindered the resumption of his See, he contented himself with a prebendal stall in the Cathedral Church at Canterbury, to which he was promoted on the fifteenth of January 1560, and died in that city in November 1563.

He is chiefly known as an author by an historical work, which he dedicated to good King Edward VI. first published at Wesel, in 1549, and afterwards enlarged at Basle, in 1557. It contains the lives of the most eminent writers of Great Britain; but curiously commences from the immediate post-diluvians. It consists of nine centuries of authors, and was written with this particular view; 'That the actions of the reprobate as well as the elect ministers of the Church may historically and aptly correspond with the mysteries described in the revelation, the stars, angels, horses, trumpets, thunderings, heads, horns, mountains, vials, and plagues, through every age of the same Church.' There are Appendices to many of the Articles; also an account of such actions of the cotemporary Popes as are omitted by their flatterers; together with the actions of the Monks, especially the mendicants, whom he considers the locusts of the Apocalypse. To these Appendices is added a perpetual succession both of the holy fathers, and Antichrists of the Church, &c. &c. He wrote between thirty and forty minor works, most of which attacked popish errors, and one was directed against 'Carpers and Traducers.' His style was often

too sarcastic and acrimonious for one who ought always to have remembered that his blessed master 'endured the contradiction of sinners against himself,' and whose heart was full of compassion while he testified against the iniquity of the world.

Grindal.

Edmund Grindal was a native of Hinsingham, in the parish of St. Begh's, Cowpland, a village of Cumberland. After being successively a member of Magdalen and Christ's colleges in Cambridge, he was admitted into Pembroke Hall, where he was chosen Fellow, 1538, commenced Master of Arts in 1541, served the office of Proctor, and in 1549, became Master of his particular academic society. Having taken his first degree in divinity, he was unanimously elected Lady Margaret's preacher, and acted also as one of the four theologians engaged in an extraordinary disputation before the visitors of King Edward the Sixth.

He was now in the thirtieth year of his age, and deservedly distinguished in the university. His religious graces and learned attainments did not escape the discerning eye of Bishop Ridley, who made him his chaplain, and recommended him to the young monarch, who designed to promote him, had his own life been spared. His mitred patron, however, wrote to the council, some of whom had most indecorously procured the prebend of Cantrilles in St. Paul's to contribute to the charge of the royal stable, for permission, notwithstanding, to bestow it on one, whom he described as his 'well-deserving chaplain, without preferment, and to whom he would grant it with all his heart, that so he

might have him continually with him, and in his diocese, to preach;' adding, that 'he was known to be both of virtue, honesty, discretion, wisdom, and learning.' It does not appear that this application was effectual; but the chanter's place becoming vacant, his Lordship collated him to that dignity, and procured his nomination to a royal chaplaincy. He was also presented to a stall in Westminster Abbey, which he did not long retain, resigning it in consequence of an arrangement made in favour of Dr. Bonner. On the demise of Tonstall, a project was entertained of dividing the rich bishopric of Durham, and giving a moiety to Grindal; but one of the courtiers, in this season of abuse, contrived to take possession, as a temporality, of the whole.

These disappointments were the less to be regretted in a lucrative point of view, as on the accession of Queen Mary he was constrained to flee, with many other worthy characters, to the German territories, settling at Strasburg, where he learned the language of the country, that he might be enabled to proclaim the tidings of salvation among those, with whom, though an alien by birth, he felt united in the bonds of a reformed faith and worship. His feelings of participation, however, must be received with a certain degree of allowance as to the latter; for though he was willing to vary from every practice that savoured of Romish superstition, he refused to proceed to those lengths of change in ecclesiastical discipline and service which were contemplated by many of the exiles, but sided with Dr. Coxe and others against Knox and his partizans in the Francfort controversy.

Conceiving that the cause of true religion would be aided by collecting accounts of the English martyrs, and publishing them, with extracts from their writings,

he was indefatigable in his researches and correspondence, with a view to this measure: nor can a more obvious mode of edification be well imagined, than that which inculcates important truth, without assuming the didactic form, and appearing to challenge contradiction, but simply by narrating the circumstances of the Christian heroes, and developing by their own testimony the grounds of their constancy and perseverance. Ridley's treatise against transubstantiation coming into the hands of Grindal and his friends, he agreed with them in the expediency of translating it into Latin, for the benefit of the continent; but lest its publication should irritate the persecutors of godly confessors then in captivity, they deferred it for a while, and Grindal, who was then at Francfort, meeting with an opportunity of writing to the author, requested his judgment in the matter.—

'Grace and consolation from our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

'Sir,—I have often been desirous to have written to you, and to have heard from you; but the iniquity of the times hath hitherto always put me forth of all hope and comfort. Now, at this present, God seemeth to offer some likelihood, that these might come to your hands, which I thought to use, referring the rest to God's disposition. Your present state, not I only, (who of all others am most bound) but also all other our brethren here, do most heartily lament, as joined with the most miserable captivity that ever any church of Christ hath suffered. Notwithstanding, we give God most humble thanks, for that he hath so strengthened you and others, your con-captives, to profess a good

profession before so many witnesses. And I doubt nothing, but that he that hath called you and them not only to believe upon him, but also to suffer for him, doth not leave you destitute of that unspeakable comfort, which he useth to minister abundantly to his in the school of the cross. May he grant that his name may be glorified in you, whether it be by life or death, as may be most to his honour, and your everlasting consolation.—Sir, I thought it good to advertise you partly of our state in these parts. We be here dispersed in divers and several places. Certain be at Zurich, good students of either university, a number; very well entreated of Master Bullinger, of the other ministers, and of the whole city. Another number of us remain at Strasburg, and take the commodity of Master Martyr's lessons, who is a very notable father. Master Scory, and certain other with him be in Friesland, and have an English church there, but not very frequent. The greatest number is at Francfort, where I am at this present by occasion; a very fair city, the magistrates favourable to our people, with so many other commodities as exiles can well look for. Here is also a church; and now (God be thanked!) well quieted by the prudency of Master Coxe, and other which met here for that purpose. So that now we trust, God hath provided for such as will fly forth of Babylon a resting-place, where they may truly serve Him, and hear the voice of their true pastor. I suppose in one place and other dispersed, there be well nigh an hundred students and ministers on this side the seas. Such a Lord is God, to work diversely in his, according to his unsearchable wisdom, who knoweth best what is in man.—We have also here certain copies of your answers

in the disputation, *Item Antoniana Objecta cum Responsione*,[1] the treatise in English against transubstantiation, which in time shall be translated into Latin. It hath been thought best not to print them till we see what God will do with you, both for incensing of their malicious fury, and also for restraining you and others from writing hereafter; which should be a greater loss to the church of Christ, than forbearing of these for a time. If I shall know your will to be otherwise in it, the same shall be followed. Thus much I thought good to let you understand concerning these matters, and concerning the poor state of men here. Who most earnestly and incessantly do cry unto God for the delivery of his church, to behold the causes of the afflicted, and to hear the groans of his imprisoned: knowing that you, who in this state have more familiar access unto God, do not forget us.—God comfort you, aid you, and assist you with his Spirit and grace, to continue his unto the end, to the glory of his name, the edification of his church, and the subversion of Antichrist's kingdom. Amen.'

'E. G.'

From Francfort, 6th May, 1555.

But the more interesting work, because that which has been more generally useful, in which he took a part, was the 'History of the Persecutions of the Church of Christ, much of the latter part of which was written by Grindal in connexion with Fox. He supplied that well-known writer with abundance of matter carefully

[1] This refers to a work called 'The objections of Marcus Antonius Constantius to Archbishop Cranmer's book against Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, with the Answers to those objections,' which were composed by Cranmer or Ridley.

collected on the continent, and gave him valuable advice as to the conduct of the publication. He counselled him in particular to issue separately for the present the memoirs of many reformed worthies; and to print a large and completer account of the Martyrs of the church, when he could have access to more extended information, in Latin as well as in English, for the more general benefit. By his advice also, Fox published at Basle many examinations and stories of British bishops and divines, who suffered for the cause of religious truth. The dialogue between Custom and Truth in the Martyrology, which is composed with so much lucid argument in favour of protestant principles on the Lord's Supper, was the entire production of Grindal.

Returning to England on the accession of Elizabeth, he became one of the committee who drew up the new Liturgy to be presented to the Queen's first Parliament, and was also one of the eight protestant theologians chosen to hold a public dispute with the popish prelates. On account of his preaching talents, he was generally nominated to the duty of the pulpit before the Queen, Privy Council, &c. on public occasions. At the same time he was appointed one of the commissioners in the north, on the royal visitation for restoring the supremacy of the crown, and the protestant faith and worship.

In July, 1559, he was preferred to the bishopric of London, vacant by the deposition of Dr. Bonner. The legislature at that period passed an act, by which the Sovereign was empowered to exchange the ancient episcopal manors and lordships for tithes and impropriations. This was a source of anxiety to those excellent pastors who became 'principals of the flock' in the

early stage of the Reformation, who scrupled whether they should comply in a point so injurious to the revenue of their respective sees, to which they were bound to afford protection, and in whose behalf they desired to obtain a restoration of the tithes which had been unjustly detained from many incumbents. Grindal had formed so high an opinion of the judgment of Peter Martyr, that he wrote to that celebrated foreigner on the subject in question, before he accepted the proffered mitre; to whom he likewise communicated some scruples concerning the vestments, and some customs retained in the church. But before he received his answer to the whole he was consecrated on the first of December, when the exchange of lands with the Queen not being fully settled, he could not compound for his first fruits, by which he was prevented from the exercise of his full episcopal function, and was obliged to have the royal authority for that purpose.

With respect to the communication from Peter Martyr in reply to the inquiry of the new prelate, we find this record in Strype. 'That reverend man, in the beginning of November gave his answer. And first, as for impropriations, he thought Grindal need not to be so solicitous. For that it was a thing lay not in his power, whence or how it pleased the Queen to provide wages and food for her bishops and the parish ministers. And then, as for going in a cap, whether round or square, and in a gown, in ordinary conversation, when they were not employed about holy things, his judgment was, that they should not wrangle more than need about them; since superstition seemed not properly to be concerned herein. But in the next place, as for the habits to be used in the ministry of holy things, since they carried an appearance of the mass, and

were merely remainders of popery, it was, he said, the opinion of the learned Bullinger, the chief minister of Zurich, that they were to be refrained from by Grindal, lest by his example a thing that was scandalous should be confirmed. But Martyr said, that though he was always against the use of such ornaments, yet he saw the present danger, lest they should be put from the office of preaching; and that perhaps some hope might be, that as altars and images were already taken away, so also those appearances of the mass might in time be taken away too; if he and others, who had taken upon them episcopacy, earnestly laboured therein. But notwithstanding if it came not to so good effect, yet, should he decline the office, another might succeed in his place, who would not care to have those relics rejected, but perhaps would rather defend, cherish, and maintain them. He was therefore, he said, more backward to advise him rather to refuse the bishoprick, than to submit to the use of those vestures. But because he saw scandals of that kind were altogether by all means to be avoided, therefore he more easily had yielded to Bullinger's opinion aforesaid. But if altars and images had been continued and preserved, then he did freely, as he had written in other letters, judge, that Grindal ought by no means to minister.

'In general, he advised him to do nothing against his conscience; he acknowledged the questions which he sent him had difficulty in them; and therefore he excused himself that he had no sooner imparted his counsel, since it could not so easily be given. He added, that when he was at Oxford, though he were a canon, yet he would never wear the surplice in the choir: He knew his example was no just confirmation of Grindal; but that which moved him then, and still

did the same, might perhaps have some force with Grindal, namely, that that was not to be done which might confirm the practice of what his conscience did not approve.'

'And again, in a subsequent letter, he says, 'Of the square cap, and the external episcopal habits, he thought there was no need much to dispute, when the wearing thereof was without superstition; and especially when it might have a civil reason in this kingdom. Of the garments which they termed holy, he confessed they somewhat stuck with him: so that he wondered they should be so stiffly retained; and he wished all things in the service of God might be done in the most simple manner. Yet he subjoined that in case peace might be obtained between the Saxon and Helvetian churches as to doctrine, this sort of garments should never make a separation: for though they should not approve of them, yet they would bear them. Therefore he allowed that Grindal might use that attire, either when he preached or administered the sacraments: yet so, as to continue to speak and teach against the use of them. But he added, that he could never advise that when he preached or administered the Lord's Supper, he should have the image of the crucifix upon the table.'

'Grindal also desired to know this great divine's judgment, as to the state's dealing with obnoxious Papists; and what he advised as to the inflicting punishment upon them, in respect of the many advantages that might be taken against them for their irregular and lawless doings in the last reign. Likewise whether he thought it adviseable, that popish priests should be continued in their places, or that such be admitted to livings. But Peter Martyr piously

counselled, that for peace' sake matters past should be forgotten; remembering that punishments in the church have sometimes been intermitted, and sometimes a total pardon granted: and that heretics have been received with the continuance of their former honours and degrees, they subscribing to sound religion. But he advised withal, that care should be taken, that for the time to come, nothing should be admitted which was contrary to the religion now entertained. And as of such as should hereafter be presented from patrons to the Bishops for spiritual livings, that they should not be by them instituted, unless they should subscribe to the religion established.'

In the year 1560, he was made one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, in pursuance of an act of parliament to inspect into the manners of the clergy, and regulate all matters of the church; and the same year he joined with Cox, bishop of Ely, and Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, in a private letter to the Queen persuading her to marry. In the following year he held his primary visitation; and not long after assisted the Primate in drawing up a body of statutes for Christ-church, Oxford. Among various other undertakings, some regarding the condition of the establishment at large, and others the particulars of his own diocese, he was engaged at the instance of Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State, who discerned in him an ability and discretion in spiritual concerns, similar to his own in secular, to examine and censure a treatise entitled, '*Christiani Hominis Norma*,' &c. The rule of a Christian Man. This was one of those pieces which appeared in an age when theological discussion rose to a great height on every side, producing in certain directions an extravagance in doctrinal sentiment,

sometimes through effervescence of zeal, and sometimes from error of fanaticism. When these opinions were not forced beyond the range of a particular circle, they were left to their own operation, and not unfrequently found their remedy in speedy exhaustion, or the gradual admixture of more correct notions. In this case, however, the author, a Dutchman named Justus Velsius, had thought proper to address her Majesty in some letters of a menacing character, and offensive enthusiasm, for which he was cited before the ecclesiastical commission, and ordered to quit her territory. He seems to have been a pious divine, betrayed by scholastic reasoning into metaphysical subtilties, to which he gave undue prominence in his catechetical instruction, maintaining that while the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us, he brought down God from heaven to us, joining and uniting him to our passible nature; and that by his glorious resurrection the flesh was made the Word, and dwelt in God, and lifted up man to God. He talked of a twofold regeneration, one of the internal and the other of the external man, observing that he knew no other rule for a Christian than this; and that he, and all who would not deceive themselves, were to examine and try themselves by it. To the declaration of his sentiments he formally added his signature, in token of the great importance which he attached to these doctrinal views; while his conduct may afford an edifying comment on the advantage which sober-minded clergymen regard themselves as possessing in a form of sound words, scriptural and moderate in character, the result of collective wisdom, and serving as a centre of unity or standard of appeal, though represented by some as a convenient subterfuge

for latent scepticism, and by others as an unwarrantable usurpation of intellectual rights.

The Bishop desired to act the part of a conscientious governor of the church of Christ, 'without partiality, and without hypocrisy.' Barton, incumbent of Abchurch, had been guilty of gross misbehaviour, and Grindal, as his diocesan, was resolved to punish him, either by deprivation, or a long suspension. But he prevailed on a gentleman of his acquaintance to intercede on his behalf with Sir William Cecil, and to present a sort of memorial, stating that the prelate had misunderstood his case. The Bishop however let the Secretary know that he understood it but too well; and that though it were true that the offender had not perpetrated to the full his intention, yet the length to which he had gone was sufficiently vile; so that severity must be used, or else God would be offended, and the mouths of adversaries opened. Cecil alluded to the case, after the lapse of half a year, as hoping some mitigation of punishment; but Grindal was inflexible, calling Barton a disgrace to his order, and observing that if Lock, Barton's intercessor, were the honest man the Secretary doubtless esteemed him, he ought not to be so importunate for one who was not. It appears that Barton, a married man, had made overtures to a particular female, with promises of money, who at length pretended to listen favourably to his suit, and appointed an interview in Distaff Lane. But she informed some friends of the secret, who concealed themselves in a neighbouring chamber, and bursting in upon him under circumstances which left no doubt of his design, carried him off to Bridewell, amid the shouts of the populace.

But if the Bishop was laudably strict in punishing offenders against the laws of God and man, he delighted to reward the good, and protect the injured. This was pleasingly exemplified in the instance of the celebrated Dr. Coverdale, who had been ejected from the see of Exeter, on the accession of Queen Mary, though so distinguished an ornament of the episcopal bench, and one who had done such service to the general cause of religion, by assisting in the translation of the Bible into English in the reign of Henry the Eighth. He had been imprisoned after his deprivation, but was released at the earnest request of the King of Denmark, and as a great favour, permitted to go into banishment. When Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, he returned to his native land, but refused to be restored to his bishopric, preferring a private life in and about London, and frequently preaching in the churches of the capital. Grindal was much affected at the neglect with which this pious divine was treated, and solicited his acceptance of some ecclesiastical situations, which Coverdale deemed it became him to decline. The venerable sufferer, when nearly eighty years of age, fell sick of the plague, but through providential mercy was restored. Grindal wrote to Cecil on the subject, observing that 'surely it was not well, that Father Coverdale, who was in Christ before them all, should be then in his age without stay of living. And therefore, Llandaff being void, he recommended him to the Secretary for that see, if any competency of living might be made of it, after it had been so spoiled and stripped by the last incumbent; reminding him, that it would be well, if any means might be found, that things wickedly alienated from that see might be restored.' At length the Bishop prevailed on his friend

to accept the benefice of St. Magnus, at the foot of London bridge, requesting the Secretary to obtain of her Majesty the release of the first-fruits, amounting to above sixty pounds. This favour the meek patriarch entreated for himself also, on the plea that he had been destitute ever since his bishopric had been taken away, and that he was neither able to pay the first-fruits, or likely to enjoy the benefice itself longer than a year from his advanced age and infirmity; adding, 'that if poor old Miles might be thus provided for, he should think this enough to be as good as a feast.' It is grateful to record that his modest request was granted, and that he survived his induction about four years, being removed from earthly cares and vicissitudes to that inheritance which fadeth not away, on the twentieth of May, 1567.

In that season of trial and difficulty for the English Church, when not only men of enthusiastic feeling or party spirit, but even divines of sober sentiment and humble piety, were so much divided on questions of discipline, ceremony, and costume, Grindal was distinguished for moderate opinions and conciliatory measures. His residence on the continent, and acquaintance with the leading reformers, as well as his experience in the school of adversity, which has frequently a molifying influence on the tenacity with which the human mind is disposed to entertain indifferent notions, had been attended with such qualifying effects in his own case, that from taking a middle course in ecclesiastic differences, he was sometimes regarded with suspicion by both parties. Having proceeded Doctor in Divinity, in 1564, he received a command from his royal mistress, which was probably not much suited to his taste, to exact uniformity from

the clergy; but executed his commission with such tenderness and reluctance, that the archbishop, as his superior, thought fit to excite him to more decision and despatch. His gentle mode of proceeding, it may be, had a suasive power in certain quarters where more violent conduct might have led to irritation and opposition. He gained over several non-conformists, and prudently wrote on the occasion to Henry Bullinger, minister of Zurich in Switzerland, in defence of his measures. He also published a letter, sent by that respected Helvetic divine to himself, Horn, Bishop of Winchester, and Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, concerning the lawfulness of wearing certain sacerdotal vestments, but drawn up for the satisfaction of Sampson and Humfrey, two leading Oxonians, the one Dean of Christ-church, and the other President of Magdalen. It was composed with such lucid argument, scriptural corroboration, and pastoral affection, that it had a good effect on many who were on the point of seceding from the establishment.

Another eminent divine among the continental Protestants, Theodore Beza, made the Bishop a present of his Annotations on the New Testament, which was acknowledged on his part by a letter of thanks, with a keep-sake very acceptable to the Genevese professor. The Bishop, in his letter, had much commended the Annotations, as accurate and learned; but Beza modestly declined the praise, and added that when they had undergone the scrutiny of his Lordship and other learned characters, it would be truly satisfactory to find that they met their approbation. In the correspondence maintained by Grindal with Beza, Bullinger, and Zanchius, it is pleasing to observe the mutual confidence and affection with which they state their respec-

tive difficulties, and require advice, or seek for sanction, in the measures pursued to promote the cause of reformation in their different circumstances. It is at the same time, curious to notice the superior spirit of liberality with which an argument is sustained, or an opinion discussed, between these distant parties, to that tenacity and jealousy which too often distinguish the domestic disputes of episcopalians and dissidents. The blameable temper with which the Puritans contended on the subject of clerical habits, and other external matters, was condemned by these foreign reformers in their epistles to Grindal, wishing as they did prosperity to the English church, and desiring to see it maintain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. His connexion with foreigners however was a source of uneasiness to this amiable prelate. He was threatened with a *premunire* by some of the clergy for raising a contribution upon them for the persecuted Protestants abroad, without the Queen's license. This, however, did not discourage him in works of benevolence to strangers and aliens; for having procured from her Majesty a commission to visit the Savoy, the hospital appointed for the relief and entertainment of poor travellers, he deprived the master, who had almost ruined the charity by his abuse and mis-management. He was afterwards very instrumental in obtaining a settlement for the French Protestants in their own mode of worship which was the origin of the Walloon Church in Threadneedle Street, London. The ecclesiastical historians, Fullèr and Heylin have described him as too much inclined to puritanism; but Strype, who has taken considerable pains in the investigation of his character, has arrived at a more favourable conclusion. He regards him as possessed of admirable

endowments for the spiritual government of the church, and uniting firmness and resolution with moderation and affability.

On the first of May, 1570, he was translated to the See of York; and was supposed to owe this promotion to the influence of Secretary Cecil and Archbishop Parker. One of his first acts was to require of the former, that Cartwright, the famous non-conformist might be silenced. This theologian was chosen Lady Margaret's divinity reader at Cambridge, and in that capacity deemed it his duty to give his sentiments in favour of the discipline at Geneva, before the heads of the university; and was so zealous in the maintenance of certain opinions, contrary to the establishment of the English church, that he seldom missed an opportunity of introducing them into his lectures or sermons, which were generally addressed to large multitudes attracted by his oratorical talents and great abilities. The conduct of the metropolitan testified that he knew how to distinguish between that regard which he might feel for the Cambridge professor, as a devoted Christian, and that indulgence which would lead him to connive at practices fraught with the seeds of disturbance and confusion. At his visitation of his clergy, in 1571, he gave them many salutary injunctions for the preservation of discipline and good order. In the following year he petitioned Elizabeth to renew the ecclesiastical commission; and in 1574, held one for the purpose of proceeding against Roman Catholics, whose numbers daily diminished in his diocese, which he constantly aimed to fill with gifted and cultivated preachers, as the most direct method of eradicating popish ignorance and superstition. He rejected such clergymen as came for institution to

benefices, who were found deficient in learning and scriptural information. One William Ireland, who came with a presentation to the rectory of Harthill, in which were the words, *vestri humiles et obedientes*, was required by the examining chaplain to construe them, and gave for their meaning, 'Your humbleness and obedience.' He was then asked, Who brought the children of Israel out of Egypt? To this question he answered, 'King Saul!' And when farther interrogated, Who was first circumcised? he could say nothing! Such an applicant most assuredly deserved rejection.

His vigilance in this respect was agreeable to a sovereign, who is known to have prided herself on scholastic attainments, and was fully convinced of the importance of learning in the national clergy, to enable them to defend those reformed tenets, of whose truth and justice she was well assured. But his intercession for the aggrieved incumbents was not so acceptable to the court. He complained in particular of great extortions made by certain deputies of the gentlemen pensioners, who had obtained a grant of the penalties incurred by the clergy for concealing of lands, &c. given for superstitious uses; but was advised by his patron Cecil to refrain from pressing a suit of so delicate a nature.

On a vacancy occurring in the See of Canterbury by the decease of Dr. Matthew Parker he was recommended by the Secretary to fill that important station, in which he was confirmed on February the fifteenth, 1575; and a convocation of that province was held under him the same year. He began his metropolitical visitation on the sixth of May, 1576, and took measures for the better regulation of his courts. His

advancement in ecclesiastical dignity and influence produced an affectionate letter of congratulation from his esteemed correspondent, Jerome Zanchius.

'The respect which I have ever entertained for you, most revered Lord, on account of your singular piety, cultivation, and virtue, constrains me to congratulate you on the new and very exalted dignity to which, as I learn from our common friend Knolles, you have been raised. For what more or better could have been desired for you in the way of authority? I do therefore most sincerely congratulate you; because these divine blessings are testimonies at once of your constant piety towards God, and of the unchangeable goodness of God towards you. Nor do I less congratulate the whole realm on that event, in having obtained of God such a Primate, by whose care and diligence it may be more and more increased in true religion and piety. For I doubt not, but that accession to the highest dignity next to the royal majesty will be to you a perpetual stimulus, by which you will be excited more strongly than ever to the discharge of your duty. I pray God to increase his own gifts in you; to endow you with firm and lasting health for the wholesome government of his church; while for my own part, for my time of life, I enjoy, through divine mercy, good health, being now sixty-one, with a wife and five children, besides one that I trust will shortly see the light. These are all chief blessings from God, for which I give him great thanks. It remains that he would both fill them with the gifts of his Spirit, and supply them with means for a decent livelihood, which that it may be his pleasure I entreat with my whole heart through Jesus Christ; and I commend myself, to thee, most excellent Archbishop, and to other friends and good

men ! The Lord Jesus long preserve you in safety for the good of the church. Heidelberg, July 22, 1576.'[1]

These kind wishes were acknowledged on the part of the Primate with suitable returns of benevolent expression, declaring that he felt himself unequal to the burden which had been laid upon him in that new dignity, which had been so cordially noticed by his friend, and expressing his satisfaction at the conduct observed by Zanchius in the disputes on the continent respecting the Eucharist and Predestination. Many faithful characters at home shared in the anticipation of the foreign professor, of the advantages which would be derived to the English establishment from the nomination of Grindal. It was not long, however, before he found himself obstructed in his endeavours to diffuse religious knowledge by those to whom the sacred light of divine truth was less welcome. He even fell under her Majesty's displeasure on account of the patronage which he extended to what was then termed '*The Exercise of Prophesying.*'

These prophesyings had been in use for some time; the rules of which were, that the ministers of a particular division met together at an appointed season in some market-town, or other convenient place, and expounded in order, according to their several ability, a portion of Scripture which had been previously selected. Afterwards a moderator made his remarks on the different expositions, and determined the true sense; a limited period being fixed for the whole of the proceedings. The clergy who attended those meetings found them very edifying; but after a while, through a spirit of ostentation in some, a tendency to heterodox

[1] Zanchii Opera, Tom. VIII. Epist. p. 140.

opinions in others, and the opportunity taken by certain of the silenced separatists to declaim against the Liturgy, the Hierarchy, and particular individuals in church and state, as well as the occasional interference of laymen, and subordinate disputes among the common people who became interested in the points under discussion, the exercises degenerated into factions and divisions.

The Archbishop endeavoured to redress these irregularities, by drawing up regulations for the more orderly and profitable management of these meetings. Their liability however to abuse, and the inducement they afforded to the laity to neglect their secular affairs to attend them, and become more conversant in critical investigation and speculative discussion than was suitable to their station, or safe for the public tranquillity, rendered them objects of jealousy to Elizabeth; who expressed herself to Grindal one day at court as offended at the number of preachers as well as the exercises, and directed him to abridge the number of the former, and put a stop to the latter. She observed moreover that it would be better for the church, if they had fewer preachers, that three or four in a county might be sufficient, as the Homilies might be generally read to parochial congregations. The Archbishop left the palace in much dejection of spirit. He considered that her majesty had made some infringement on his own office, to whom the highest trust of the English establishment next to herself had been committed; especially as the command was peremptory, and made without any previous communications with him on the subject, though so seriously affecting the interests of religion. After some reflection, therefore, he determined to write her a letter, declaring that his con-

science, for the reasons which he should allege, would not permit him to comply with her commands. This refusal was couched in terms of the lowest deference to the Queen as his sovereign, but in a strain of pious submission and firm obedience to the will of God, and with a fidelity that bespoke his resolution to run any risque rather than violate the duties of his sacred charge.

'To her Majesty, December 20, 1576.

'With humble remembrance of my bounden duty to your Majesty: That may please the same to be advertised, that the speeches which it hath pleased you to deliver unto me, when I last attended on your Highness, concerning the abridging the number of preachers, and the utter suppression of all learned exercises and conferences among the ministers of the church, allowed by their bishops and ordinaries, have exceedingly dismayed and discomforted me. Not so much for that the said speeches sounded very hardly against mine own person, being but one particular man, and not much to be accounted of; but most of all for that the same might both tend to the public harm of God's church, whereof your Highness ought to be the nursing-mother, and also the heavy burdening of your own conscience before God, if they should be put in strict execution. It was not your Majesty's pleasure then, the time not serving thereto, to hear me at any length concerning the said two matters there propounded: I thought it therefore my duty, by writing, to declare some part of my mind to your Highness; beseeching the same with patience to read over this that I now send written with mine own rude, scribbling hand; which seemeth to be of more length than it is indeed: for I say with Ambrose, I write with mine own hand, that you alone may read it.

'Madam.—First of all, I must and will, during my life, confess, that there is no earthly creature to whom I am so much bounden as to your Majesty; who, notwithstanding mine insufficiency, (which commendeth your grace the more) hath bestowed upon me so many and so great benefits, as I could never hope for, much less deserve. I do therefore, according to my most bounden duty, with all thanksgiving, bear towards your Majesty a most humble, faithful, and thankful heart; and that knoweth He which knoweth all things. Neither do I ever intend to offend your Majesty in any thing; unless, in the cause of God, or of his church, by necessity of office, and burden of conscience, I shall thereunto be enforced. And in those cases, which I trust in God shall never be urged upon me, if I should use dissembling or flattering silence, I should very evil requite your Majesty's so many and so great benefits. For in so doing, both you might fall into peril towards God, and I myself into endless damnation. The prophet Ezekiel termeth us ministers of the church, *watchmen*, and not *flatterers*. If we see the sword coming, by reason of any offence towards God, we must of necessity give warning, or else the blood of those that perish will be required at our hands. I beseech your Majesty thus to think of me, that I do not conceive any evil opinion of you, although I cannot assent to those two articles then propounded. I do, with the rest of all your good subjects, acknowledge that we have received by your government many and most excellent benefits; as, among others, freedom of conscience, suppressing of idolatry, sincere preaching of the gospel, with public peace and tranquillity. I am also persuaded that even in these matters, which you seem now to urge, your zeal and meaning is to the best. The like hath hap-

pened to many of the best princes that ever were: yet have they not refused afterwards to be better informed out of God's word. King David, so much commended in the Scriptures, had no evil meaning, when he commanded the people to be numbered. He thought it good policy in so doing, to understand what forces he had in store to employ against God's enemies, if occasion so required. Yet afterward (saith the Scripture) his own heart struck him; and God (by the prophet Gad) reprehended him for his offence, and gave him for the same choice of three very hard penances; that is to say, famine, war, and pestilence. Good King Ezekias, of curtesie and good affection, showed to the ambassadors of the king of Babylon the treasures of the house of God, and of his own house; and yet the prophet Esay told him, that God was therewith displeased. The godly King Jehosophat, for making league with his neighbour, King Achab, (of the like good meaning, no doubt,) was likewise reprehended by Jehu the prophet, in this form of words,—'Shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord? therefore wrath is upon thee from before the Lord.' Ambrose, writing to Theodosius the emperor, useth these words,—'I know thy piety towards God, and clemency to men: I have been obliged by thy bounties,' &c. and yet, for all that, the same Ambrose doth not forbear, in the same epistle, earnestly to persuade the said emperor to revoke an ungodly edict, wherein he had commanded a godly bishop to re-edify a Jewish synagogue, pulled down by the Christian people.

'And so, to come to the present case, I may very well use unto your Highness the words of Ambrose above written. But surely I cannot marvel enough, how this strange opinion should once enter into your

mind, that it should be good for the church to have few preachers. Alas! Madam, is the Scripture more plain in any one thing, than that the Gospel of Christ should be plentifully preached, and that plenty of labourers should be sent into the Lord's harvest; which, being great and large, standeth in need not of a few, but many workmen? There was appointed unto the building of Solomon's material temple a hundred and fifty thousand artificers and labourers, besides three thousand three hundred overseers: and shall we think that a few preachers may suffice to build and edify the spiritual temple of Christ, which is his church? Christ, when he sendeth forth his apostles, saith unto them, "Go ye, preach the Gospel to every creature." But all God's creatures cannot be instructed in the Gospel, unless all possible means be used to have multitudes of preachers and teachers to preach unto them. "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly," saith St. Paul to the Colossians, and, to Timothy, "Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort;" which things cannot be done without often and much preaching.

'To this agreeth the practice of Christ's apostles, who appointed elders in every church. St. Paul likewise, writing to Titus, writeth thus,—"For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou mayest go on to make up what is wanting, and appoint elders throughout every town." And afterwards describeth how the said presbytery, i. e. elders, were to be qualified; not such as we are compelled to admit by mere necessity, (unless we should leave a great number of churches utterly desolate) but such indeed as were able to exhort, and by sound doctrine to convince gainsayers. And, in this place, I beseech your Majesty to note one thing

necessary to be noted, which is this,—If the Holy Ghost prescribe expressly that preachers should be placed in every town or city, how can it well be thought that three or four preachers may suffice for a shire?

'Public and continual preaching of God's word is the ordinary means and instrument of the salvation of mankind. St. Paul calleth it the ministry of reconciliation of man unto God. By preaching of God's word, the glory of God is enlarged, faith is nourished, and charity is increased. By it the ignorant is instructed, the negligent exhorted and incited, the stubborn rebuked, the weak conscience comforted, and to all those that sin of malicious wickedness, the wrath of God is threatened. By preaching, also, due obedience to Christian princes and magistrates is planted in the hearts of his subjects. For obedience proceedeth of conscience; conscience is grounded upon the word of God; the word of God worketh this effect by preaching. So as generally where preaching wanteth, obedience faileth. No prince ever had more lively experience hereof than your Majesty hath had in your time, and may have daily. If your Majesty come to the city of London never so often, what gratulation, what joy, what concourse of people is there to be seen! Yea, what acclamations and prayers to God for your long life; and other manifest significations of inward and unfeigned love, joined with most humble and hearty obedience are there to be heard! Whereof cometh this, madam, but of the continual preaching of God's word in that city? Whereby that people hath been plentifully instructed in their duty towards God and your Majesty. On the contrary, What bred the rebellion in the North? Was is not papistry and ignorance of God's word, through want of often preaching?

And in the time of that rebellion, were not all men of all states that made profession of the gospel, most ready to offer their lives for your defence? Insomuch, that one poor parish in Yorkshire, which by continual preaching had been better instructed than the rest (Halifax I mean), was ready to bring three or four thousand able men into the field to serve you against the said rebels. How can your Majesty have a more lively trial and experience of the contrary effects of much preaching, and of little or no preaching? The one working most faithful obedience, and the other most unnatural disobedience and rebellion.

'But it is thought of some, that many are admitted to preach, and few be able to do it well. That unable preachers be removed is very requisite, if ability and sufficiency be rightly weighed and judged; and therein I trust as much is, and shall be done, as can be. For both I, for mine own part (let it be spoken without any ostentation), am very careful in allowing such preachers only, as be able and sufficient to be preachers, both for their knowledge in the scriptures, and also for testimony of their good life and conversation. And besides that, I have given very great charge to the rest of my brethren, the bishops of this province, to do the like. We admit no man to the office, that either professeth papistry or puritanism. Generally the graduates of the university are only admitted to be preachers, unless it be some few which have excellent gifts of knowledge in the scriptures, joined with good utterance and godly persuasion. I myself procured above forty learned preachers and graduates within less than six years to be placed within the diocese of York, besides those I found there; and there I have left them. The fruits of whose travail in preaching, your Majesty is like to reap daily

by most assured, dutiful obedience of your subjects in those parts. But indeed this age judgeth very hardly, and nothing indifferently of the ability of preachers of our time; judging few or none in their opinion to be able. Which hard judgment groweth upon divers evil dispositions of men. St. Paul doth commend the preaching of Christ crucified without excellency of speech. But in our time many have so delicate ears, that no preaching can satisfy them, unless it be sauced with much fineness and exornation of speech; which the same apostle utterly condemneth and giveth this reason, 'lest the cross of Christ be made of none effect.'

'Some there be also that are mislikers of the godly Reformation in religion now established; wishing indeed there were no preachers at all; and so by depraving the ministers impugn religion—not by open war, but by secret undermining. Much like to the Popish Bishops in your father's time, who would have had the English translation of the Bible called in, as evil translated; and the new translating thereof to have been committed to themselves; which they never intended to perform. A number there is, and that is exceeding great, whereof some are altogether worldly-minded, and only bent covetously to gather worldly goods and possessions; serving mammon and not God. And another great sum have given over themselves to commit all uncleanness with greediness: and because the preaching of God's word, which to all Christian consciences is sweet and delectable, is to them, having seared consciences, bitter and grievous. For as St. Ambrose saith, how can the word of God be sweet in *his* mouth, in which is the bitterness of sin? Therefore they wish also, that there were no preachers

at all. But because they dare not directly condemn the office of preaching, so expressly commanded by God's word (for that were open blasphemy), they turn themselves altogether; and with the same meaning that the others do, to take exceptions against the persons of them that be admitted to preach. But God forbid, Madam, that you should open your ears to any of these wicked persuasions; or any way go about to diminish the preaching of Christ's gospel. For that would ruinate altogether at the length. "When prophecy shall fail, the people shall perish," saith Solomon.

'Now where it is thought that the reading of the godly *Homilies* set forth by public authority, may suffice, I continue of the same mind I was, when I attended last upon your Majesty. The reading of the Homilies hath its commodity; but is nothing comparable to the office of preaching. The godly preacher is termed in the gospel "a faithful servant, who knoweth how to give his Lord's family their apportioned food in season:" who can apply his speech according to the diversity of times, places, and hearers: which cannot be done in Homilies. Exhortations, reprehensions, and persuasions are uttered with more affection, to the moving of the hearers, in sermons than in Homilies. Besides, Homilies were devised by the godly Bishops in your brother's time, only to supply necessity, for want of preachers; and are by the statute not to be preferred, but to give place to sermons, wheresoever they may be had; and were never thought in themselves alone to contain sufficient instruction for the Church of England. For it was then found, as it is found now, that this Church of England hath been by appropriations, and that not without sacrilege, spoiled of the livings, which at the first were appointed to the

office of preaching and teaching. Which appropriations were first annexed to abbies; and after, came to the crown; and now are dispersed to private men's possession, without hope to reduce the same to the original institution. So as at this day, in my opinion, where one church is able to yield sufficient living for a learned preacher, there are at the least seven churches unable to do the same: and in many parishes of your realm, where there be seven or eight hundred souls (the more is the pity) there are not eight pounds a year reserved for a minister. In such parishes it is not possible to place able preachers, for want of convenient stipend. If every flock might have a preaching pastor, which is rather to be wished than hoped for, then were reading of Homilies altogether unnecessary. But to supply that want of preaching of God's word, which is the food of the soul, growing upon the necessities aforementioned, both in your brother's time, and in your time, certain godly Homilies have been devised, that the people should not be altogether destitute of instruction; for it is an old and true proverb, *Better half a loaf than no bread.*

'Now for the second point, which is concerning the learned exercise and conference amongst the ministers of the church; I have consulted with divers of my brethren the Bishops, by letters; who think it the same as I do, viz. a thing profitable to the church, and therefore expedient to be continued. And I trust your Majesty will think the like, when your Highness shall be informed of the manner and order thereof; what authority it hath of the scriptures; what commodity it bringeth with it; and what incommodities will follow, if it be clear taken away.

'The *authors* of this exersise are the Bishops of the

dioceses where the same is used; who, both by the law of God, and by the canons and constitutions of the church now in force, have authority to appoint exercises to their inferior ministers, for increase of learning and knowledge in the scriptures, as to them seemeth most expedient. For that pertaineth to the discipline of ministers. The *times* appointed for the assembly is once a month, or once in twelve or fifteen days, at the discretion of the ordinary. The time of the exercise is two hours. The *place*, the church of the town appointed for the assembly. The *matter* intreated of is as followeth:—Some text of scripture, before appointed to be spoken of, is interpreted in this order: first, the occasion of the place is showed; secondly, the end; thirdly, the proper sense of the place; fourthly, the propriety of the words; and those that be learned in the tongues, showing the diversities of interpretations; fifthly, where the like phrases are used in the scriptures; sixthly, places in the scriptures seeming to repugne are reconciled; seventhly, the arguments of the text are opened; eightly, it is also declared, what virtues and vices are there touched; and to which of the commandments they pertain; ninthly, how the text had been wrested by the adversaries, if occasion so require; tenthly, and last of all, what doctrine of faith or manners the text doth contain. The conclusion is, with the prayer for your Majesty and all estates, as is appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and a Psalm.

'These orders following are also observed in the said exercise. First, two or three of the gravest and best learned pastors are appointed of the Bishop to moderate in every assembly. No man may speak unless he be first allowed by the Bishop, with this proviso, That no lay-man be suffered to speak at

any time. No controversy of this present time and state shall be moved or dealt withal: if any attempt the contrary, he is put to silence by the moderator. None is suffered to glance openly or covertly at persons public or private; neither yet any one to confute another. If any man utter a wrong sense of the scripture, he is privately admonished thereof, and better instructed by the moderators, and other his fellow-ministers. If any man use immodest speech, or irreverend gesture or behaviour, or otherwise be suspected in life, he is likewise admonished as before. If any wilfully do break these orders, he is presented to the Bishop, to be by him corrected.

'The ground of this or like exercise is of great and ancient authority. For Samuel did practise such like exercises in his time, both at Naioth in Ramatha, and at Bethel. So did Eliseus at Jericho. Which studious persons in those days were called "the sons of the prophets;" that is to say, the disciples of the prophets, that being exercised in the study and knowledge of the scriptures, they might be able men so serve in God's church, as that time required. St. Paul also doth make express mention, that the like in effect was used in the primitive church; and giveth rules for the order of the same. As namely, that two or three should speak, and the rest should keep silence.

'That exercise of the church in those days, St. Paul calleth "prophecy," and the speakers "prophets"—terms, very odious in our days to some, because they are not rightly understood. For indeed *prophetia* in that, and like places of St. Paul, doth not, as it doth sometimes, signify prediction of things to come; which gift is not now ordinary in the church of God, but signifieth there, by the consent of the best ancient

writers, the interpretation and exposition of the scriptures. And therefore doth St. Paul attribute unto those that be called prophets in that chapter, " doctrine, to edification, exhortation, and comfort." This gift of interpreting and expounding the scriptures was in St. Paul's time given to many by special miracle, without study: So was also, by like miracle, the gift to speak with strange tongues, which they had never learned. But now, miracles ceasing, men must attain to the knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, &c. by travail and study, God giving the increase. So must men also attain by like means to the gift of expounding and interpreting the scriptures. And amongst other helps, nothing is so necessary as these above-named exercises and conferences amongst the ministers of the church: which in effect are all one with the exercises of students in divinity in the universities, saving, that the first is done in a tongue understood, to the more edifying of the unlearned hearers.

'Howsoever report hath been made to your Majesty concerning these exercises, yet I and others of your Bishops, whose names are noted in the margin hereof, as they have testified unto me by their letters, have found by experience, that these profits and commodities following have ensued of them. 1. The ministers of the church are more skilful and ready in the scriptures, and apter to teach their flocks. 2. It withdraweth them from idleness, wandering, gaming, &c. 3. Some, afore suspected in doctrine, are brought hereby to open confession of the truth. 4. Ignorant ministers are driven to study, if not for conscience, yet for shame and fear of discipline. 5. The opinion of laymen, touching the idleness of the clergy, is hereby removed. 6. Nothing

by experience beateth down popery more, than that ministers (as some of my brethren do certify) grow to such a good knowledge by means of these exercises, that where afore were not three able preachers, now are thirty, meet to preach at St. Paul's cross; and forty or fifty besides, able to instruct their own cures. So as it is found by experience the best means to increase knowledge in the simple, and to continue it in the learned. Only backward men in religion, and contemners of learning in the countries abroad do fret against it: which in truth doth the more commend it. The dissolution of it would breed triumph to the adversaries, and great sorrow and grief unto the favourers of religion. Contrary to the counsel of Ezekiel, who saith, "The heart of the righteous must not be made sad." And although some few have abused this good and necessary exercise, there is no reason that the malice of a few should prejudice all. Abuses may be reformed, and that which is good may remain. Neither is there any just cause for offence, if divers men make divers senses of one sentence of scripture; so that all the senses be good, and agreeable to the analogy and proportion of faith. For otherwise we must needs condemn all the ancient fathers and doctors of the church, who most commonly expound one and the same text of scripture diversely; and yet all to the good of the church. Therefore doth St. Basil compare the scripture to a well; out of which the more a man draweth, the better and sweeter is the water.

'I trust, when your Majesty hath well considered and well weighed the premises, you will rest satisfied, and judge that no such inconveniences can grow of these exercises, as you have been informed, but rather

the clean contrary. And for my own part, because I am very well assured, both by reasons and arguments taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and by experience, the most certain seal of sure knowledge, that the said exercises, for the interpretation and exposition of the Scriptures, and for exhortation and comfort drawn out of the same, are both profitable to increase knowledge among the ministers, and tend to the edifying of the hearers; I am forced, with all humility, and yet plainly to profess, that I cannot with safe conscience and without the offence of the majesty of God, give my assent to the suppressing of the said exercises: much less can I send out any injunctions for the utter and universal subversion of the same. I say with St. Paul, "I have no power to destroy; but only to edify;" and with the same apostle, "I can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth."

'If it be your Majesty's pleasure for this, or any other cause, to remove me out of this place, I will, with all humility, yield thereunto, and render again to your Majesty that I received of the same. I consider with myself that it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God. I consider also, that he who acts against his conscience (resting upon the laws of God), edifies to hell. And what should I win, if I gained (I will not say a bishopric, but) the whole world, and lose mine own soul?

'Bear with me, I beseech you, madam, if I choose rather to offend your earthly majesty, than to offend the heavenly majesty of God. And now being sorry, that I have been so long and tedious to your majesty, I will draw to an end, most humbly praying the same well to consider these two short petitions following. The first is, that you would refer all these ecclesiastical

matters which touch religion, or the doctrine and discipline of the church, unto the bishops and divines of your realm, according to the example of all godly Christian emperors and princes of all ages. For indeed they are things to be judged (as an ancient father writeth) in the church or a synod, not in a palace. When your majesty hath questions of the laws of your realm, you do not decide the same in your court, but send them to your judges to be determined. Likewise for doubts in matters of doctrine or discipline of the church, the ordinary way is to refer the decision of the same to the bishops and other head ministers of the church. Ambrose to Theodosius useth these words: 'If in matters of money you consult with your earls, how much more is it fit, you consult with the Lord's priests in the cause of religion?' And likewise the same father to the good emperor Valentinian: 'If we confer about faith, the conference ought to be left to the priests; as it was done under Constantine, a prince of most honourable memory; who set forth no laws, before he had left them to the free judgment of the priests.' And in the same place, the same father saith, that Constantius the emperor, son to the said Constantine the great, began well, by reason he followed his father's steps at the first; but ended ill, because he took upon him to judge of faith within the palace, (for so be the words of Ambrose) and thereby fell into Arianism; a terrible example. The said Ambrose, so much commended in all histories for a godly bishop, goeth yet farther, and writeth to the same emperor in this form: If a bishop be taught by a layman, what follows? Let the layman then dispute, and the bishop hear: let the bishop learn of the layman. But certainly if we have recourse either to the order of the Holy Scriptures, or to

ancient times, who is there that can deny, that in the cause of faith, I say, in the cause of faith, bishops were wont to judge concerning Christian emperors, not emperors of bishops? Would to God your majesty would follow this ordinary course, you should procure to yourself much quietness of mind, better please God, avoid many offences, and the church should be more quietly and peaceably governed, much to your comfort, and the commodity of your realm. The second petition I have to make to your majesty is this, that when you deal in matters of faith and religion, or matters that touch the church of Christ, which is his spouse, bought with so dear a price, you would not use to pronounce too resolutely and peremptorily, as with *authority*, as ye may do in civil and extern matters; but always remember that in God's causes, *the will of God* (and not the will of any earthly creature) is to take place. It is the antichristian voice of the Pope, So I will have it: So I command: Let my will stand for a reason. In God's matters, all princes ought to bow their sceptres to the Son of God, and to ask counsel at his mouth, what they ought to do. David exhorteth all Kings and Rulers to serve God with fear and trembling.

'Remember, madam, that you are a mortal creature. Look not only (as was said to Theodosius) upon the purple and princely array wherewith ye are apparalled, but consider withal, what is that that is covered therewith. Is it not flesh and blood? Is it not dust and ashes? Is it not a corruptible body, which must return to his earth again, God knows how soon? Must not you also one day appear before the fearful judgment seat of the crucified, to receive there according as you have done in the body, whether it be good or evil? And although ye are a mighty prince, yet remember

that He which dwelleth in heaven is mightier. He is, as the Psalmist saith, terrible, and he taketh away the spirit of princes, and is terrible among the kings of the earth. Wherefore I do beseech you, madam, in the bowels of Christ, when you deal in these religious causes, set the majesty of God before your eyes, laying all earthly majesty beside; determine with yourself to obey his voice, and with all humility say unto him, "not mine, but thy will be done." God hath blessed you with great felicity in your reign, now many years; beware you do not impute the same to your own deserts of policy, but give God the glory. And as to instruments and means, impute your said felicity, first, to the goodness of the cause which you have set forth, I mean Christ's true religion; secondly, to the sighs and groanings of the godly in their fervent prayer to God for you,—which have hitherto as it were tied and bound the hands of God, that he could not pour out his plagues upon you and your people, most justly deserved.

'Take heed that ye never once think of declining from God, lest that be verified of you, which is written of Joash, who continued a prince of good and godly government for many years together, and afterwards, when he was strengthened, his heart was lifted up to his destruction, and he regarded not the Lord. Ye have done many things well, but except ye persevere to the end, ye cannot be blessed. For if ye turn from God, then God will turn away his merciful countenance from you. And what remaineth then to be looked for, but only a terrible expectation of God's judgments, and a heaping up wrath against the day of wrath? But I trust in God your majesty will always humble yourself under his mighty hand, and go forward in the zealous

setting forth of God's true religion, always yielding due obedience and reverence to the word of God, *the only rule of faith and religion.* And if ye so do, although God hath just cause many ways to be angry with you and us, for our unfaithfulness, yet I doubt nothing, but that for his own name's sake, and for his own glory's sake, He will still hold out his merciful hand over us, and shield and protect us under the shadow of his wings, as he hath done hitherto.

'I beseech God, our heavenly Father, plentifully to pour his principal Spirit upon you, and always to direct your heart in his holy fear. Amen.'

Notwithstanding this faithful remonstrance, the Queen sent injunctions in the following year to the respective bishops to forbid all exercises and prophesyings, and all preachers and teachers not lawfully called, of which there was no small number; and in June the Archbishop was sequestered from his office, and confined to his house by an order of the court of star-chamber. In the latter end of November, his friend the Lord Treasurer wrote to him, proposing that he should make his submission to the will of his Sovereign, swayed as she then was by a dominant party in her council; but as such a measure was prevented by the dictates of his conscience, his sequestration was continued. In January 1578, thoughts were entertained of depriving him of his see, but were not immediately acted upon: on the contrary, he was suffered to retire to his country house at Croydon in Surrey, where he consecrated the Bishop of Exeter, in 1579, and the Bishops of Winchester, and Lichfield and Coventry, in 1580. He exercised, however, these distinguished parts of his functions under circumstances of disgrace, which would have been galling to any mind that had not been graciously

taught the virtues of humility and resignation; for he received a particular commission from the Queen, who in council had appointed two civilians to manage the other affairs of his see, superseding those whom he had himself nominated for the same purpose. But it was found difficult, as it plainly was odious, to dispense with his services altogether. He had special commands at intervals from Elizabeth and her council to act in person, and suffered no opportunity that presented itself in his circumscribed situation, of discharging the office of a faithful overseer of the house of God to pass unimproved.

In consequence of the alarming earthquake, which is recorded to have occurred at this period, besides issuing, as Primate, an order for prayers and humiliations before the Almighty in public worship, he composed a prayer for families throughout his diocese, which was allowed by the council, who, in a letter to him, commended his great zeal, requiring him to enjoin the observation of his new order of prayer in all other dioceses.

Though he could not appear at the convocation held in 1580 at St. Paul's he had a principal share in its transactions. He drew up an expedient for preserving the authority of the spiritual courts in the point of excommunications; and also laid before them a new form of penance, to be observed for the future, better calculated than the former to bring the offender to amendment of life. Many of the clergy participated with men of honesty and impartiality among the laity, in sentiments of regret and indignation at the harsh treatment shown to so good a man and amiable prelate; besides regarding with a natural jealousy the stretch of power which marked the proceedings against the

chief of their order, as if the discarded tyranny of the Italian pontiff was reviving in a British oligarchy. Some had the boldness to move, that no business should be commenced, nor any subsidy granted, till he was restored. And though this notion was negatived, they unanimously presented a petition, which was thought more respectful, to her Majesty in his favour; setting forth, 'how exceedingly grieved they were, that the most reverend father, after so many years, should fall into so great and so durable an offence of her Majesty. That he was a man that did not often offend; and but once in his life seemed to have displeased her; and *that* not so much with a wilful mind, as by a tender conscience. Of which, so great was the force, that eminent authors and the best men had writ,—that whatsoever was done, the conscience reclaiming, or erring, or doubting, was done amiss, and to be condemned as no little sin. That the Archbishop had led a life free not only of all crime, but even from the suspicion of a crime; preserved his religion from all, not only corruption of popery, but from schism; and had suffered persecution for righteousness' sake, having wandered abroad in other countries for the cause of the Gospel. Therefore they most humbly and unanimously beseeched her, not only to lift up the Archbishop, broken and feeble with grief, but to restore the church to him, and him to the church, to her subjects, to his own brethren, to foreign nations, and, in a word, to all pious people. And for their own parts, they promised her, if she would grant this their supplication, they would never be wanting in their care of settling the church, in propagating religion, in taking away schisms, and in being mindful of and thankful for this favour.'

We read this address with mingled emotions of pity

at its humiliating character, and of gratitude for emancipation from that thraldom which made it necessary. After all, it proved ineffectual; nor was he restored, till he made his submission; wherein, among other things, to clear himself of the charge of a refractory disobedience in respect of suppressing the exercises, he proved that in his own bishopric, and other peculiar jurisdictions, he never suffered the exercises to be used after the time of her Majesty's command. It can be little doubted, that much of the inveteracy which this excellent prelate endured, is referable to the enmity of ungodly courtiers against his determined piety and inflexible integrity; and it was rumoured in particular, that the Earl of Leicester indulged a vindictive feeling towards him, because he would not suffer Julio, an Italian physician, and favourite of that overbearing nobleman, to marry the wife of another man.

He was much afflicted with the infirmities of age at the time of his restitution to the administrative power of his high station, and particularly to failure of sight, which soon after terminated in complete blindness, the effect, as was supposed, of hard study and increasing weakness. Losing all hope of recovering his vision, he deemed it his duty to resign his see, towards the end of the year 1582; and though too much alienated from the favour of a Queen, whose affections were always capricious, and who, while pleased with the phantom of personal domination, was frequently governed by a designing faction, obtained the grant of a pension for the remainder of his life. With this provision he retired to Croydon, where he departed in peace two months after, on the sixth of July, 1583, and was buried in the parish church, where a stone monument was erected to his memory.

The Archbishop lived and died unmarried, yet does not seem to have amassed much wealth, notwithstanding his great and rich preferments. He disposed of a considerable portion of his property in judicious and charitable legacies, indicating his benevolent desire of instructing the minds and alleviating the condition of the poorer class. Canterbury, Croydon, Lambeth, and St. Bees, in Cumberland, his native place, were the principal objects of his bounty in these respects. Besides bequeathing a fund for the erection and endowment of a grammar-school at the latter town, he distinguished its church by the gift of his communion cup and cover, double gilt, and his best great Bible. He left to the Queen a curious Greek Testament, printed by Stephens; to his successors in the primacy, several pictures and other articles; to his patron, Lord Burleigh, a standing cup of forty ounces, given by her Majesty the last New-year's day before his decease; and a similar token of remembrance to Sir Francis Walsingham.

Bradford.

Ever since the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch, there have been certain members of their body so eminent for fervour of devotion, purity of conversation, and integrity of life, as to have gained, by general suffrage of the orthodox, the distinguishing epithet of *Holy*. Such was the case with the occupant of the present division of our pages.

John Bradford was a native of Manchester, who after a competent education, became a retainer of Sir John Harrington, Knight, Treasurer to Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, in affairs relative to their encampments and fortifications in Boulogne and its vicinity on the French coast, from 1544 to 1550. His diligence and fidelity gave such satisfaction to his patron and other persons about the Court, as would have opened fair prospects of success, had he aspired to some honourable or lucrative post under Government. But so deeply was his mind imbued at this season with religious sentiment, and so influential were his convictions of the vanity of rank or wealth, and the infinite importance of eternal realities, that he quitted the Temple in London, where he had begun the study of the law, and entered himself a member of the University of Cambridge, that he might devote his time to biblical science and theological attainment.

Though from compassion for the ignorance and blindness in which his countrymen were involved, he doubtless contemplated further opportunities of usefulness, from his increased acquaintance with divine truth, he does not seem at the commencement of his academical career to have had in view the office of the ministry. But, after being raised to the degree of Master of Arts, though the period of his residence had been less than a year, and chosen Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Martin Bucer, who lectured in divinity, was so much gratified with his piety and application, that he used much persuasion to engage him to enter into holy orders; to which Bradford constantly answered, that he was not sufficiently qualified. The professor used to reply, 'If thou hast not manchet, yet give the people barley-bread, or such as thou hast.' He was at length ordained deacon by Bishop Ridley; who, with that mildness and consideration which ever marked his character, simplified the ceremony as much as possible to meet the wishes of the candidate, gave him a license to preach, and made him prebendary of St. Paul's.

He now devoted himself to the office of a steward of the manifold grace of God, and a messenger to the Church, earnestly opposing Romish error, and affectionately exhibiting the Saviour to the acceptance of a fallen race. Nor did the accession of Queen Mary check him in his faithful ministration, till he was unjustly deprived both of his office and liberty by the Queen and her council. On the thirteenth of August, in the first year of her reign, Dr. Bourne, Bishop of Bath and Wells, took occasion, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, to rail against King Edward, and all other favourers of the Reformation, which so much enraged the audience, that, in spite of the presence

of the chief ecclesiastical and municipal authorities, they would have pulled him out of the pulpit, had they not been restrained by open force. A dagger was thrown at him, which narrowly missed its aim. The preacher, knowing the popularity of Bradford, who stood behind him, entreated him to come forward and exhort the people to quietness. He no sooner appeared, than they exclaimed, 'Bradford, Bradford, God save thy life, Bradford!' He then remonstrated with them on their tumultuous and seditious conduct, till they gradually dispersed. But as some stragglers remained, the preacher, who had been fain to hide his head while Bradford was addressing the crowd, was afraid to show himself, and requested that good man not to depart till he were in safety; on which Bradford, assisted by Mr. Rogers, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, screening him with their gowns, conveyed him to the neighbouring grammar-school. A gentleman observed, 'Ah, Bradford, thou savest him that will help to burn thee! I gave him his life. If it were not for thee, I would, I assure thee, have run him through with my sword.'[1]

'Howsoever, Bradford (says Fuller) committed the issue to Almighty God, nothing repented his charity, which he was sure would find reward with Him, what acceptance soever it found amongst wicked and unthankful men; yea, so far was he from being afraid or sorry for what he had done, that in his afternoon's sermon at Bow Church, he sharply reprehended his auditors for their forenoon's tumultuous carriage and sedition. And yet, such was the malice of the common adversary, and iniquity of the times, that about three

[1] Clarke, Fox, &c. Abel redivivus, p. 184.

days after, for this very fact, he was summoned to appear before the council, and by the Lords committed to the Tower.'

After affecting to examine him, they removed him to the King's Bench, Southwark. Here he found Dr. Ferrar, the worthy Bishop of St. David's, who was suffering like himself for Protestant sentiment; and who from long confinement had been so far wrought upon, as to consent to receive the sacrament on the following Sunday, which was Easter-day, in one kind alone, after the Romish custom. But, by divine providence, Bradford was brought to the prison the very day before, and by his persuasion was made instrumental in preserving the yielding prelate from bringing this scandal on his profession. He was so much respected and trusted by the Keeper, that he was daily permitted to leave the prison if he pleased; a permission of which he generally availed himself, that he might visit the sick, and endeavour to edify others by his conversation. Laurence Saunders, another excellent confessor of the truth, who was confined in the Marshalsea, used to give him frequent meetings in a space behind their two prisons, receiving as well as bestowing seasonable encouragement to continue in their most holy faith, in nothing terrified by their adversaries. At one time, Bradford obtained liberty to go into Oxfordshire, to visit a merchant of his acquaintance, and a man was provided to accompany him on horseback, but he was prevented by sickness from undertaking the journey. An old friend said to him, 'Suppose I should make intercession for you, and get you out of prison, what would you do, or whither would you go?' He answered as though it were a matter of indifference whether he was released or not; but

being again questioned, he said, he would marry, and remain in the kingdom, and give the people such instruction in secret as the times would admit of, till it pleased God to produce a change in the circumstances of the church. He used to preach twice a-day to his fellow-prisoners, unless hindered by indisposition, and often celebrated the Lord's Supper; and through the indulgence of the gaolers, his apartment on these occasions was generally filled with devout persons. He made one light meal in the day, and was accustomed to study on his knees. In the midst of his dinner he would sometimes meditate with his hat drawn over his face, till from the fulness of his heart he shed many tears. He would seldom continue in bed longer than four hours, and accounted that time lost which was not spent in writing, study, or useful converse. He conciliated the good will of the inmates of the prison, by emptying among them the contents of his purse from time to time, and thus induced some of the vilest and most profligate to give him a patient hearing. How tenderly and wisely he could counsel others, taught as he was in the school of affliction, let the following letter, selected from many preserved by Fox, testify.

'To Master Warcup and his Wife, Mistress Wilkinson, and others of his godly friends.

'The same peace our Saviour Christ left with his people, which is not without war with the world, Almighty God work plentifully in your hearts, now and for ever. Amen.

'The time is come, I perceive, wherein the Lord's ground will be known. I mean, it will now shortly appear, who have received God's gospel into their hearts indeed, to the taking of good root therein; for such will not, for a little heat or sun-burning, wither,

but stiffly will stand and grow on, maugre the malice of all burning showers and tempests. And forasmuch as, my beloved in the Lord, I am persuaded of you, that ye be indeed the children of God, God's good ground which groweth, and will grow on, by God's grace bringing forth fruit to God's glory, after your vocations, as occasions shall be offered, burn the sun never so hot; therefore I cannot but so signify unto you, and heartily pray you and every one of you accordingly, to go on forwards after your Master Christ; not sticking at the foul way and stormy weather which you are come into, and are like so to do; of this being most certain, that the end of your journey shall be pleasant and joyful, in such a perpetual rest and blissfulness, as cannot but swallow up the showers that ye now feel and are soused in, if ye often set it before your eyes, after Paul's counsel in the latter end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians. Read it, I pray you, and remember it often, as a restorative to refresh you, lest ye faint by the way.

'And, besides this, set before you also, that though the weather be foul, and storms grow apace, yet go not ye alone; but other your brothers and sisters tread the same path, as St. Peter telleth us, and therefore company should cause you to be more courageous and cheerful. But if you had no company at all to go presently with you, I pray you tell me, if even from the beginning the best of God's friends have found any fairer weather and way to the place whither ye are going, I mean heaven, than ye now find, and are like to do, except ye will with the worldlings, which have their portion in this life, tarry still by the way, till the storms be overpast, and then, either night will so

approach that ye cannot travel, or the doors will be sparred before ye come, and so ye then lodge without in wonderful evil lodgings. Read Rev. xxii. Begin at Abel, and come from him to Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, the Patriarchs, Moses, David, Daniel, and all the saints of the Old Testament, and tell me whether ever any of them found any fairer way than ye now find. If the Old Testament will not serve, I pray you come to the New, and begin with Mary and Joseph, and come from them to Zacharias, Elizabeth, John Baptist, and every one of the Apostles and Evangelists, and search whether they all found any other way unto the city we travel towards, than by many tribulations. Besides these, if ye should call to remembrance the primitive church, ye should see many to have given cheerfully their bodies to most grievous torments, rather than they would be stopped in their journey: that there is no day in the year, but I dare say a thousand was the fewest, that with great joy lost their homes here, but in the city they went unto, have found other manner of homes than man's mind is able to conceive.

'But if none of these were, if ye had no company now to go with you, as ye have me, your poor brother and bondman of the Lord, with many other, I trust in God; if you had none other of the fathers, patriarchs, kings, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, and other holy saints and children of God, that in their journey to heavenward found, as ye now find and are like to find, if you go on forward, as I trust ye will; yet ye have your Master and your Captain, the dear darling and only begotten and beloved Son of God, in whom was all the Father's pleasure, joy, and delectation; ye have him to go before you, no fairer way, but

much fouler, into this our city of Jerusalem; I need not, I trust, to rehearse what manner of way he found. Begin at his birth, and till ye come at his burial, ye shall find that every foot and stride of his journey was no better, but much worse than your's is now.

'Wherefore my dearly beloved in the Lord, be not so dainty as to look for that at God's hands, your dear Father, which the fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, saints, and his own Son Jesus Christ, did not find. Hitherto we have had fair way, I trow, and fair weather also; now because we have loitered by the way, and not made the speed we should have done, our loving Lord and sweet Father hath overcast the weather, and stirred up storms and tempests, that we might with more haste run out our race before night come, and the doors be sparred. The devil standeth now at every inn door in his city and country of this world, crying unto us to tarry and lodge in this or that place, till the storms be overpast; not that he would not have us wet to the skin, but that the time might overpass us, to our utter destruction. Therefore beware of his enticements. Cast not your eyes on things that be present, how this man doth and that man doth; but cast your eyes on the gleve ye run at, or else ye will lose the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the gleve, doth not look on others that stand by, and go this way or that way; but altogether he looketh at the gleve, and on them that run with him, that those which be behind overtake him not, and that he may overtake them that be before: even so should we do, leaving off looking on those which will not run the race to heaven's bliss by the path of persecution with us, and cast our eyes on the end of our race, and on them that go before us, that we may

overtake them, and on them which come after us, that we may provoke them to come faster after.

'He that shooteth will not cast his eyes in his shooting on them that stand by or ride by the way, I trow, but rather at the mark he shooteth at, for else he were like to win the wrong way: even so, my dearly beloved, let your eyes be set on the mark you shoot at, even Christ Jesus, who for the joy set before him did joyfully carry his cross, contemning the shame, and therefore he now sitteth on the right hand of the throne of God. Let us follow him: for this did he, that we should not be faint-hearted; for we may be most assured, that if we suffer with him, we shall undoubtedly reign with him; but if we deny him, surely he will deny us. For "he that is ashamed of me," saith Christ, "and of my Gospel in this faithless generation, I will be ashamed of him before the angels of God in heaven." O how heavy a sentence is this to all such as know the *mass* to be an abominable idol, full of idolatry, blasphemy, and sacrilege, against God and his Christ, (as undoubtedly it is) and yet for fear of men, for loss of life or goods, yea some for advantage or gain, will honest it with their presence, dissembling both with God and man, as their own heart and conscience doth accuse them. Better it were that such had never known the truth, than thus wittingly, and for fear or favour of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, to dissemble it, or rather, as indeed it is, to deny it. The end of such is like to be worse than their beginning. Such had need to take heed to the two terrible places to the Hebrews, in the sixth and tenth chapters, lest by so doing they fall therein. Let them beware they play no willy-beguile with themselves, as some do, I fear me, which go to mass; and because they worship not, nor kneel

not, nor knock not, as others do, but sit still in their pews, therefore they think they rather do good to others than hurt. But, alas! if these men would look into their own consciences, there should they see they are very dissemblers, and in seeking to deceive others, (for by this means the magistrates think them of their sort) they deceive themselves. They think at the elevation-time, all men's eyes are set upon them to mark how they do. They think others, hearing of such men going to mass, do see or inquire of their behaviour there. O if there were in those men that are so present at the mass, either love to God or to their brethren, then would they, for the one or both, openly take God's part, and admonish the people of their idolatry. They fear man more than Him which hath power to cast both soul and body into hell-fire; they halt on both knees; they serve two masters. God have mercy upon such, and open their eyes with his eye-salve, that they may see that they which take no part with God are against God, and that they which gather not with Christ, do scatter abroad. Oh, that they would read what St. John saith will be done to the fearful! The counsel given to the church at Laodicea is good counsel for such.

'But to return to you again, dearly beloved; be not ashamed of God's Gospel. "It is the power of God to salvation to all those that do believe it." Be therefore partakers of the afflictions, as God shall make you able, knowing for certain that he will never tempt you farther than he will make you able to bear; and think it no small grace of God to suffer persecution for God's truth; for the Spirit of God resteth upon you, and ye are happy, as one day ye shall see. Read 2 Thess. i. Heb. xii. As the fire hurteth not gold, but maketh it

finer, so shall ye be more pure by suffering with Christ. The flail and wind hurteth not the wheat, but cleanseth it from the chaff; and ye, dearly beloved, are God's wheat: fear not therefore the flail; fear not the fanning wind; fear not the millstone; fear not the oven: for all these make you more meet for the Lord. Soap, though it be black, soileth not the cloth, but rather at the length maketh it more clean; so doth the black cross help us to more whiteness, if God strike with his battledore. Because ye are God's sheep, prepare yourselves for the slaughter, always knowing that in the sight of the Lord, our death shall be precious. The souls under the altar look for us to fill up their number: happy are we if God hath so appointed us.

'Howsoever it be, dearly beloved, cast yourselves wholly upon the Lord, with whom all the hairs of your head are numbered; so that not one of them shall perish. Will we, nill we, we must drink God's cup, if he hath appointed it for us. Drink it willingly then, and at the first, when it is full, lest peradventure, if we linger, we shall drink at the length of the dregs with the wicked, if at the beginning we drink not with his children; for with them his judgment beginneth, and when he hath wrought his will on mount Zion, then will he visit the nations round about. Submit yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God. No man shall touch you without his knowledge. When they touch you therefore, I know it is your weal. God thereby will work to make you like unto Christ here, that ye may be also like unto him elsewhere. Acknowledge your unthankfulness and sin, and bless God that correcteth you in the world, because you shall not be damned with the world. Otherwise might he correct us, than in making us to suffer for righteousness' sake,

but this he doth because we are not of the world. Call upon his name through Christ for his help, as he commandeth us. Believe that he is merciful to you, heareth you, and helpeth you. "I am with him in trouble, and I will deliver him," saith he. Know that God hath appointed bounds, over which the devil and all the world shall not pass. If all things seem to be against us, yet say with Job, "If he will kill me I will hope in him." Read the 91st Psalm, and pray for me, your poor brother and fellow-sufferer for God's Gospel sake; his name therefore be praised, and of his mercy he make me and you worthy to suffer with good conscience for his name's sake. Die once we must, and when we know not: happy are they whom God giveth to pay nature's debt, I mean, to die for his sake!

'Here is not our home; therefore let us accordingly consider things, always having before our eyes the heavenly Jerusalem, the way thither to be by persecutions; the dear friends of God, how they have gone it after the example of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose footsteps let us follow, even to the gallows, if God so will; not doubting, but that as he within three days rose again, immortal, even so we shall do in our time, that is, when the trump shall blow, and the angel shall shout, and the Son of man shall appear in the clouds, with innumerable saints and angels, in majestic and great glory: then shall the dead arise, and we shall be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord, and so be always with him. Comfort yourselves with these words, and pray for me, for God's sake.

'JOHN BRADFORD.'

'19th December, 1553.'

Two months after writing the above, he sent another faithful address 'to certain men not rightly persuaded in the doctrine of God's holy Election.'

'Grace, mercy, and peace, with increase of all godly knowledge and living from God the eternal Father of all consolation, through the bloody death of our alone and full Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the mighty and lively working and power of the Holy Spirit the Comforter, I wish unto you now and for ever. Amen.

'Although I look hourly for officers to come and have me to execution, yet can I not but attempt to write something unto you, my dearly beloved, (as always you have been, and however you have taken me) to occasion you the more to weigh the things wherein some controversy hath been amongst us, especially the article and doctrine of *predestination;* whereof I have written a little treatise, therein as briefly showing my faith, so answering the enormities gathered of some to slander the said necessary and comfortable doctrine. That little piece of work I commend unto you, as a thing whereof I doubt not to answer to my comfort, before the tribunal seat of Jesus Christ; and therefore I heartily pray you, and every of you, for the tender mercies of God in Christ, that you would not be rash to condemn things unknown; lest God's woe should fall upon you, for calling good evil, and evil good. For the great love of God in Christ, cavil not at things that be well spoken, nor construe things to the evil part when ye have occasion otherwise. Do not suppose that any man by affirming predestination (as in that book I have truly set it forth, according to God's word, and the consent of Christ's church), either to seek carnality, or to set forth matter of desperation; only by the doctrine of it I have taught, as to myself, so to others, a certainty of

salvation; a setting up of Christ only; an exaltation of God's grace, mercy, righteousness, truth, wisdom, power, and glory; and a casting down of man and all his power, that he that glorieth may glory only, and altogether, and continually in the Lord.

'Man consisteth in two parts, the soul and the body; and every man of God hath (as a man would say) two men, an outward or old man, and an inward or new man. The devil's drift is to bring the one into a carnality, and the other into a doubt, and so to despair and hatred of God; but God, for remedy hereof, hath ordained his word, which is divided into two parts: the one is a doctrine which demandeth of us our duty, but giveth no power thereto; the other is a doctrine which not so much demandeth as giveth: the former is called the law which hath its promises, conditionals, and comminations, or threats accordingly; the other is called the Gospel, or rather the free promises, hanging not as conditions on our behalf, but simply on God's verity and mercy, although they require conditions, but not as hanging thereon; of which promises the Gospel may well be called a publication. The former, that is, the law, with her promises and comminations, tells man what he is, and shows what he can do; the latter, that is, the Gospel and free promises, tells and sets forth Christ, and what mercy at God's hand through Christ, we have offered and given unto us. The former part serveth to keep the old man from carnality and security, and to stir him up to diligence and solicitude; the latter part serveth how to keep the new and inward man from doubting and despair, and to bring us into an assured certainty and quietness with God through Christ. The old man and the field he resteth in may not be sown with any other seed than is agreeable to

the former doctrine; the new man and the field he resteth in may not be sown with any other than is agreeing to the latter doctrine. By this means man shall be kept from carnality, and from desperation also, and brought into diligence and godly peace of conscience.

It is forbidden in the old law to sow two kinds of seed in one field; to wear linsey-woolsey petticoats; or to eat beasts that did not cleave the hoofs. God grant us to be wise husbandmen, to sow according as I have said! God grant us to be wise tailors, to cut our coats for two men of one whole cloth, as it is declared! God grant us to be clean beasts, to cleave the hoofs accordingly! that is, to give the old man meat meet for the mowers; that is, the *Law* with its appurtenances, conditionals, promises, and comminations; and to give to the new man the *Gospel* and sweet free promises, as appertaineth; and then, doubtless, we shall walk in the right high-way unto eternal life; that is, in Christ Jesu, the end of the Law and the fulfilling of the promises, in whom they be yea and amen.

If this my poor advice be observed, my dear brethren in the Lord, I doubt not but that all controversies for predestination, original sin, free will, shall so cease, that there shall be no breach of love nor suspicion amongst us; which God grant, for his mercies' sake! I am persuaded of you, that you fear the Lord, and therefore I love you and have loved you in him, my dear hearts, though otherwise you have taken it without cause on my part given, so far as I know; for hitherto I have not suffered any copy of the treatise above specified to go abroad, because I would suppress all occasions, so far as might be. Now am I going before you to my God, and your God; to my Father, and

your Father; to my Christ, and your Christ; to my home, and your home. I go before, but you shall come after, sooner or later. Howbeit, I could not but, before I go, signify thus much unto you as I have done, that you might see my love, and thereby be occasioned to increase in love, und learn rather to bear than break.

'My poor and most dear sister to me that ever I had, with whom I leave this letter, I commend unto you all and every of you; beseeching you and heartily praying you, in the bowels and blood of Jesus Christ, to care for her, as for one which is dear in God's sight, and one which loveth you all in God, and hath done, as I can and do bear her witness; although in the point of predestination it hath pleased God by my ministry to open unto her his truth, wherein as she is settled, and I trust in God confirmed, so if you cannot think with her therein as she doth, I heartily pray you, and, as I can, in God's behalf charge you, that you molest her not, nor disquiet her; but let love abound, and therein contend who can go most before. I commend also unto you my good sister M. C. making for her the like suit unto you all.

'Ah! dear hearts, be not faint-hearted for these evil days which are come to try us and purify us, that we may the more be partners of God's holiness. As to ourselves, so to the world we shall be better known. Continue to walk in the fear of the Lord. Ye have well begun. Keep yourselves pure, as I hope ye do, from this rotten Romish, yea, antichristian religion. Reverently read God's word, thereto joining prayer, that as you hear, in reading, God speak unto you, so in praying, you may speak unto him. Labour, after your callings, to help others. As you have done, do still; and I pray God give you grace to continue, as I doubt

not but he will, for his goodness' sake. At the length we shall meet together in Christ's kingdom, and there never part asunder, but praise the name of our good God and Father, with the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, angels, archangels, and all the saints of God. O joyful place! O place of all places desired!

'My brethren, I think myself more happy than you, by how much I am now more near unto it. Elias' chariot I hourly look for to come and catch me up. My cloak, that is, my carcase, I shall leave behind me in ashes, which I doubt not my Lord will raise up and restore to me again in the last day, glorified even like unto his own most glorious body. The portion of the good Spirit which my Father hath lent me, I wish, yea double and treble, unto you all. God, the Father of mercy, in the blood of his Christ, give to every of you, my dear hearts, in him his blessing. and pour plentifully upon you his Holy Spirit, that you may increase in all godly knowledge and godliness, to your own comfort and the edification of many others. Amen. Yet once more I commend unto you my foresaid most dear and beloved sister in the Lord, who always be unto her a most loving father, spouse, and pastor. Amen. Amen.

'Out of prison, the 16th of February, 1554.

'Your own heart,

'JOHN BRADFORD.'

In the affectionate interest for the concerns of others, pastoral anxiety for their spiritual good, and sanctified superiority to the allurements of time and sense, which appear in these epistles, may be recognized the vigilant, conscientious, devoted servant of God, and the experienced author of sundry godly Meditations, Ser-

mons, Confessions, Prayers, and Treatises, of which the perusal has doubtless been blessed to many souls in the school of Christ. The former division consists of 'A Meditation of the Lord's Prayer—a Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer—a Meditation upon the Twelve Articles of the Christian Faith—upon the Ten Commandments—concerning Prayer—on the coming of Christ to Judgment—concerning the proper usage both of the Body and Pleasures of this Life—for the Exercise of True Mortification—of the Providence of God towards Mankind—of the Presence of God—of God's Power, Beauty, and Goodness—of Death—and upon the Passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ.'

He was removed from the King's Bench to the Compter, where he passed his time in the same manner, endeavouring to instruct his fellow-captives, and encouraging by his correspondence his fellow-protestants to witness a good confession.

On the twenty-second of January, 1555, he was summoned to appear before Gardiner, Lord Chancellor, and Bishop of Winchester, and other Commissioners. On his entrance the Lord Chancellor told him, that he had been a long time in prison for his seditious behaviour at Paul's cross, and for his false preaching and arrogancy, in taking upon him to preach without authority. 'But (added he) the time of mercy is come, if you will accept it on the Queen's terms. If you will do as we have done, you shall find as we have found, I warrant you.'

Bradford. My lord, and lords all, I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and with humble reverence be it spoken, unjustly; insomuch that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arogantly, by word or fact, by preaching or otherwise; but rather sought

truth, peace, and godly quietness, as an obedient faithful subject, both in saving the life of him who is now Bishop of Bath, namely Dr. Bourne, who was then preacher at the Cross, and in preaching for quietness accordingly.

Gardiner. Thou liest. The fact was notorious, as my lord of London can bear witness.

Bonner. You say true, my lord. I saw him with my own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and head the people impudently, thereby declaring that he was the author of the sedition.

Bradford. My lords, notwithstanding my lord bishop's seeing and saying, yet the truth I have told, as one day the Lord Almighty shall reveal to all the world, when we shall all stand before him. In the mean season, because I cannot be believed by you, I must and am ready to suffer as now your sayings be, whatsoever God shall permit or license you to do to me.

Gardiner. I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and goodly shews thou makest; but all is lies thou speakest. And again, I have not forgot how stubborn thou wast, when thou wast before us in the Tower, whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning religion. I have not forgot thy behaviour and talk, for which cause thou hast been kept in prison, as one who would have done more hurt than I will speak on.

Bradford. My lord, as I said, I say again; that I stand, as before you, so before God, and one day we shall all stand before him. The truth then will be the truth, though we will not so take it. Yea, my lord, I dare say that my lord of Bath, Dr. Bourne, will witness with me, that I sought his safeguard with the peril of my own life: I thank God therefore.

Bonner. That is not true. For I myself did see thee take upon thee too much.

Bradford. No. I took nothing upon me undesired, and that of Dr. Bourne himself; as, if he were present, I dare say he would affirm. For he desired me to help him, to pacify the people, and also not to leave him till he was in safety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your honors; if I did or said any thing that did not beseem me, if your lordship would tell me wherein it was, I would shortly make you an answer.

Gardiner. Well, to leave this matter. How sayest thou now? wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou shalt receive the Queen's mercy and pardon?

Bradford. My lord, I desire mercy with God's mercy; but mercy, with God's wrath, God keep me from. Although I thank God therefore, my conscience doth not accuse me, that I did speak any thing, that I should not receive the Queen's mercy or pardon. For all that ever I did or spake, was both agreeable to God's laws, and the laws of the realm at present, and did make much to quietness.—

Durham. Why, tell me; what say you by the ministration of the Communion, as now you know it is?

Bradford. My lord, here I must desire of your lordship and all your honours a question, before I dare make you an answer to any interrogatory or question, wherewith you now begin. I have been six times sworn, that I shall in no wise consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, or any authority, on the Bishop of Rome's behalf, within this realm of England.

Now, before God, I humbly pray your honours to tell me whether you ask this question by his authority, or no? If you do, I dare not, nor may answer you any thing in his authority, which you shall demand of me, except I would be foresworn, which God forbid!

Secretary Bourne. Hast thou been sworn six times? What office hast thou bourne?

Bradford. Forsooth, I was thrice sworn in Cambridge, when I was admitted master of arts; when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke-hall; and when I was there, the visitors came thither and sware the University. Again I was sworn when I entered into the ministry; when I had a prebend given me; and when I was sworn to serve the King a little before his death.

Gardiner. Tush, *Herod's oaths* a man should make no conscience at.

Bradford. My lord, these were no Herod's oaths, no unlawful oaths, but oaths according to God's word, as you yourself have well affirmed in your book, 'On True Obedience.'

Secretary Bourne. Yea, it was reported this Parliament time, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those that have come to him in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters, he curseth all that teach any false doctrine (for so he calleth that, which is not according to that he taught), and most heartily exhorteth them, to whom he writeth, to continue still in that they have received by him, and such like as he is. How say you, Sir; have you not thus seditiously written and exhorted the people?

Bradford. I have not written or spoken any thing

seditiously; neither (I thank God therefore) have I admitted any seditious thought, nor I trust ever shall do.

Secretary Bourne. Yea, thou hast written letters.

Gardiner. Why speakest thou not? hast thou not written as he saith?

Bradford. That I have written, I have written.

Southwell. Lord God! what an arrogant and stubborn boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly behaveth himself before the Queen's Council!

Bradford. My lords and masters, the Lord God, who is, and will be judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am certain, I now stand before His Majesty; so with reverence in his sight I stand before you, and to you accordingly in words and gesture I desire to behave myself. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it. In the mean season, I shall suffer with all due obedience your sayings and doing too, I hope.——

After some more abuse from the Lord Chancellor, and repeated refusal on Bradford's part to accept mercy on the conditions proposed, he was ordered again into custody. The Commissioners assembled once more about a week afterwards at St. Mary Overy's Church, Southwark, and ordered him to appear before them for a second examination. He underwent several subsequent trials by the Commissioners, by two Spanish friars who came to him in the Compter, and by Dr. Weston, Dean of Westminster; but in his various conferences, he answered with all the steadiness becoming a confirmed believer, and all the cheerfulness of a martyr anticipating a glorious entrance into the kingdom of heaven.

It was not long ere the anticipated period arrived.

On the last day of June he was given to understand that he must be carried to Newgate. Before quitting his apartment he called his fellow-prisoners and the servants of the gaol to receive his blessing, and prayed so earnestly and affectionately as to draw tears from the whole assembly. Receiving from a female who highly reverenced him a shirt, which she had had the melancholy task of making for his decent execution, he spoke of it, and prayed over it, as that wedding garment in which he was to attend the Supper of his Lord. He then distributed what money he possessed, exhorting each individual to fear and serve God, and turning to the wall, intreated the Father of mercies that his words might not be spoken in vain. The officers removed him at midnight, thinking the streets would be empty, but a great multitude had collected in Cheapside, who wept and blessed him as he passed along. They went to Smithfield by four o'clock the next morning, but the victim was not brought thither till nine. He was guarded by a strong body, and accompanied by John Leaf, an apprentice about twenty years of age, who was to suffer with him. When they arrived at the stake, they fell prostrate, and prayed silently, till commanded by the Sheriff to 'rise and make an end, for the press of the people was great.'

Bradford took a faggot and kissed it, and embracing also the stake, put off his clothes, and lifting his eyes and hands to heaven, exclaimed, 'O England, England! Repent thee of thy sins! Beware of Idolatry! Beware of Antichrists! Take heed they do not deceive thee!'—'Tie his hands (said the Sheriff) if he will not be quiet.'—'O Master Sheriff (replied the sufferer) I am quiet. God forgive you this, Master Sheriff.'—'If thou hast no better learning than that

(said one of the executioners) you were but a fool, and had best hold your peace.' To this he answered not, but asked all the world forgiveness, expressing his forgiveness of others, and intreating the intercession of the by-standers. Turning to the youth who was bound with him, he said, 'Be of good comfort, brother, for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night;' and added, once more embracing the reeds, "Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate, that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it." The flames now rose to consume them, and the cheerful resignation displayed by both in their extremity, seemed to testify that they belonged to the happy number.

Jewel.

The excellent prelate, who obtained in the sixteenth century such deserved celebrity as the 'Apologist of the Church of England,' was a younger son of John Jewel, Esq. of Buden, in the parish of Berinber, in the county of Devon; a gentleman of ancient descent, but limited estate, who gave him his own name at the baptismal font, and who had many other children by the same mother, of the family of Bellamy. He was born May 24, 1522.

Intelligent, amiable, and diligent, he so well improved the means of education afforded him in his childhood, that on entering the thirteenth year of his age he was admitted of Merton College, Oxford, and placed, in the first instance, under the care of a tutor named Burry, who was neither much endowed with scholastic learning, nor enlightened in theological attainment. It was therefore happy for him, that he was afterwards removed to a class superintended by Master John Parkhurst, a better scholar, and purer divine, fellow of the same college, who subsequently became incumbent of Cleave in Gloucestershire, and Bishop of Norwich. This clergyman was much attached to his pupil, whom he perceived both religious and studious, and took pains to imbue his tender mind with principles of reformation as well as subjects of erudition. After

a while, a contagious fever spreading in the university, he retired to a place called Croxham, where he was accustomed to study late at night in a low and damp apartment, and contracted a rheumatic affection in his feet, from which he never recovered.

When he had been a member of the Society at Merton about four years, he changed it for that of Corpus Christi, by the advice or sanction of his two tutors and a Mr. Slater; where however his abilities are said to have excited the envy of the other students; who meanly contrived on several occasions to suppress their exhibition. He nevertheless took his degree of Bachelor of Arts with great and general applause, on the twentieth of October, 1540. He then prosecuted his studies with such ardour, that on some days he scarcely intermitted them from four in the morning till ten at night. He gained such reputation, that he was shortly after chosen, in preference to many of his seniors, reader of humanity and rhetoric in his own college; and held this situation seven years, with such esteem for accuracy of remark and depth of criticism, that many came from other colleges to hear him, both tutors and students; among whom was Parkhurst, who took an opportunity, at the close of one of his lectures, to express his gratification in a Latin distich to this effect:—

> 'Dear Jewel, thou wast once a scholar mine;
> Now, though thy modesty refuse, I'm thine.'

He spent some part of every day in composition; holding it for a maxim, that 'men acquired more learning by a frequent exercising their pens, than by reading many books.' His recreation was reading to his pupils, disputing with others, or ruminating on what he had read. His aim was to express himself on every subject

clearly and weightily, rather than rhetorically and musically; though no man was more sensible of the charms of eloquence and rhythm, as he proved in his 'Dialogue on the Art of Rhetoric.' His attainments, meanwhile, were adorned with corresponding morality; which drew from the dean of his college a testimony in his favour, yet more valuable than that borne by his late preceptor: 'I should love thee, Jewel, if thou wert not a Zuinglian: in thy faith I hold thee a heretic; but surely in thy life thou art an angel: thou art very good and honest, but a Lutheran.'[1]

Through the assistance of his friend Parkhurst, he commenced Master of Arts, Feb. 9, 1544; and when Peter Martyr was called to fill the divinity chair, he became his constant attendant, assiduously cultivating his acquaintance, taking notes of his sermons and lectures, and establishing himself in Protestant doctrine. During the memorable dispute on the Lord's Supper, between that eminent Reformer and some Popish divines, Jewel was requested by him to take down the whole in writing, and a faithful report of the proceedings was published in 1549, which at that particular period was an important present to the nation. In 1550, he preached an admirable Latin sermon at St. Mary's, on taking his bachelor's degree in divinity, from 1 Pet. iv. 11. "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth: that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ; to whom be praise and dominion for ever and ever. Amen."[2] He took a small living near the university, called Sunningwell, that he might proclaim evangelical truth in a country parish, as well

[1] Clarke's Lives, p. 328. [2] Humfrey's Life of Jewel, p. 40.

as in a collegiate chapel; whither he used to repair every fortnight on foot, though he was so lame, that he found the exercise of walking exceedingly troublesome. His income at this time was so narrow, that he was indebted for its increase every year to the kind contributions of two friends, named Curtop and Chambers, besides the generosity of his tried patron, Parkhurst.

While Edward the Sixth survived, he was permitted to make that declaration of the message of mercy, which he felt at once to be his duty and privilege. But no sooner was the persecution against faithful preachers begun under Queen Mary, than Jewel, as a marked man, was one of the first to feel the raging of the tempest; and before any order was received from government, was expelled the College by the Fellows upon their private authority. The charges against him were, that he was a follower of Peter Martyr; that he promulgated some doctrines contrary to popery; and that his ordination had been contrary to the rules of the Romish Church. Fuller records, in his Church History, that he was expelled for refusing to be present at the celebration of the mass. He made a farewell address on occasion of his expulsion in affecting terms: 'In my last lectures I acted like hungry men, who seeing their food likely to be suddenly taken from them, devour it with the greater eagerness. For, intending thus to conclude my lectures, and perceiving that I was on the point of being silenced, I did not hesitate (contrary to my former custom) to give you much unpleasant and crude discourse; for I see that I have incurred the displeasure and hatred of some persons, though, whether deservedly or not, I leave to their own consciences; being well assured that those who have driven me from hence, would not suffer me to live any where if it were

in their power. But for my own part, I willingly yield to the times; and if such characters can draw any satisfaction from the change of my circumstances, let me not hinder them. But as Aristides, when he went into banishment and left his native land, desired that his countrymen might never more think of him; so do I beseech God to grant the same forgetfulness to my fellow-collegians; and what can they wish for more? Pardon me, my hearers, if I appear distressed, when on the point of being violently torn from a place where I have passed my early life, have experienced some portion of happiness, and been engaged in an honourable office! Woe is me, that, speaking it at last with sorrow and sadness, I must say, Farewell, ye studious hours! farewell, ye endeared seats! farewell, thou pleasant abode of learning! farewell, delightful intercourse! farewell, striplings! farewell, youths! farewell, fellows! farewell, brethren! farewell, beloved as mine eyes, farewell all, farewell!'[1]

He found a temporary asylum in Broadgates-Hall, where he experienced some alleviation of his grief, by his election to the public oratorship; the University paying that respect to piety and talent in its corporate character, which was wanting in an individual member more pervious to the spirit of party cabal. In this capacity he addressed an elegant gratulation to the Queen, on the behalf and in the name of the University; alluding as a classic to the manner in which the Roman senators had tempered their sorrow for the death of Augustus by joy at the accession of Tiberius; and expressing as a divine his hope that the new Sovereign would not change the established religion on assurances

[1] Humfrey's Life of Jewel, p. 74.

made by her Majesty to the gentry of Norfolk and Suffolk, who had befriended her in a season of political adversity. He did not however convey to the royal ear the sentiments of many of his constituents; and in particular of Dr. Tresham the vice-chancellor, to whom he happened to be reading a draught of his letter when the great bell of Christ-church, which that divine had recently hung and baptized by the name of *Mary*, began to toll for mass, on which he exclaimed in the transport of a genuine Romanist, and as triumphing over the Protestant feeling of Jewel: 'O delicate and sweet harmony! O beautiful Mary! how musically she sounds! how strangely she pleaseth mine ears!'

Dr. Marshal, Dean of Christchurch, one of those Erastian hypocrites, whose religious profession veered with every wind of political power, was the natural opposer of so scriptural and simple a theologian as Jewel, and became his bitter persecutor. He sent some inquisitors to him with a list of papal tenets, which he was required to sign, under pain of imprisonment and fiery torture. Under the influence of surprize and alarm, and actuated perhaps by a delusive hope of peace, he asked, 'Have you a mind to see how well I can write?' and subscribed the paper. As must ever happen where the direct path of duty is deserted, this compliance failed to mitigate the rage of his enemies, excited the distrust of his friends, and brought disquiet on his own conscience. He resolved to flee to London; and by a providential interposition, which has been extended in a similar manner to many pastors destined to eminence and usefulness in the Church, travelled by an indirect route, and eluded the search of some desperate characters who were determined on his arrest or destruction. Making slow progress through his lameness,

he was found on a cold winter's evening, faint, exhausted, and panting, stretched on the snow, by a Swiss, named Augistine Berner, a pious retainer of Bishop Latimer, who, like the good Samaritan, "set him on his own beast, and took care of him," bringing him to the mansion of Lady Ann Warcup, a widow, who entertained him with much kindness, till he could continue his journey.

In the capital, however, he found no secure resting-place from the agents of Bishop Bonner, and was fain to repair to the Rectory of Cleave, where on his arrival a fresh disappointment awaited him in the absence of his friend, who like himself had deemed it prudent to seek safety by flight from the increasing violence of the ecclesiastical commissioners. Forced at length to return to Oxford, his trials were augmented, till Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a statesman of considerable wealth and authority, procured him a vessel, and furnished him with money for a voyage to the Continent. At Frankfort his spirits were refreshed by the society of Mr. Richard Chambers, one of his benefactors; Dr. Robert Horne, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; Sir Francis Knollis, a privy-counsellor; and other adherents to the Protestant cause, who received him with feelings of peculiar satisfaction, both from personal esteem and zeal for the reformed interest. They exhorted him[1] to make a public recantation of his subscription, which he willingly performed, at the close of a sermon delivered on the next Sabbath, saying, 'It was my abject and cowardly mind, and faint heart, that made my weak hand to commit this wickedness. He uttered this confession

[1] Jewel says, however, that he made his confession "unrequired." Works, p. 30.

with such evident compunction, and asked pardon with such humility of that God whom he had offended, and of that Church which he had scandalized, that the congregation testified their sympathy with sighs and tears, and ever after honoured and esteemed him for his ingenuous conduct.

Peter Martyr solicited him to go to Strasburg, conscious that the attention shown him at Oxford by Jewel was one great cause of the suffering of the latter, and desirous of paying him in kind for his hospitality to a stranger. He accepted the invitation, and was of great service to this celebrated foreigner, in his edition of his Commentaries on the book of Judges, which were all transcribed for the press by him; and he used also to read every day some part of the work of a Father to him, especially St. Augustine, by whose writings they were both pleased and edified. At Strasburg he found Ponet, late Bishop of Winchester; Grindal, afterwards Archbishop of York; Edwin Sandys, Sir J. Cheeke, and Sir Anthony Coke; and other persons of distinction, who had found it necessary to seek temporary refuge on the Continent. When Martyr was called by the Senate of Zurich to succeed Pellican in the Hebrew professorship, Jewel accompanied him. There he again met with his exiled countrymen, among whom was Pilkington, bishop of Durham, who were maintained by the liberality of some London merchants; till Bishop Gardiner, finding out who were their benefactors, brutally threatened he would make them eat their finger ends for hunger, imprisoning and impoverishing these sympathizing friends. But a merciful providence in this extremity raised up Christopher, prince of Wittenberg, and the senators of Zurich, with some foreign divines to assist them; while Jewel himself stood in

need of less relief than the others, from his residence with the Professor. During his season of banishment, he devoted himself to study, at intervals composing with suavity of manner and temperance of counsel, the differences amongst his brethren on the subjects of ceremonies and church-discipline; or else comforting them under their trials, reminding them of the horrible martyrdoms which many were called to suffer at home, and generally concluding with the observation, 'These things will not last long;' 'which words,' says Clarke, 'proved a prophecy; for it pleased God in mercy to his church shortly after to cut off bloody Queen Mary, who lived not out half her days, and to set up Queen Elizabeth to be a nursing mother to his church.'

Mr. Parkhurst, on occasion of the measures taken by the English refugees to return to their native land, visited him in Germany; but fearing that he had not chosen the safer way for returning, took another route, which however proved less secure, for he was robbed on the road, while Jewel arrived without injury, and had the grateful satisfaction of relieving his benefactor on his setting foot on shore, having landed sometime before him.

Much had been done in favour of reformation before the arrival of these two enlightened clergymen, by judicious arrangements under the sanction of her Majesty, who, immediately after her accession, ordered that no man, of whatever quality, should presume to alter any thing in the state of religion, or innovate in any of the rites and ceremonies thereunto belonging, &c. until some further order should be taken therein. Only it was permitted, and withal required, that the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, should be read in English, and that

augured well for the new ecclesiastical constitution, and in spite of the intercession of France and Spain, and the remonstrances of the Emperor Ferdinand, sent him the same prohibition which had been given to the former messenger. Scipio, a patrician of Venice, known to Jewel, hearing of Martiningo's ill-success, wrote an expostulatory letter to the Bishop of Salisbury; to which that Prelate, well acquainted with the artifices which had been hitherto used to obtain an assembly bearing the title of a General Council, returned an answer, equally conspicuous for orderly reasoning and elegant expression.

This was the memorable period when the Bishop published his Apology for the Church of England, which was issued under sanction of the Queen's authority, and with the advice of some of the Bishops, as the public confession of the Catholic and Christian faith of the nation, giving an account of the reasons of its separation from the Romish see, and refuting the calumnies raised in Christendom against its supposed contumacy in withholding its representatives. The perusal of this important document at Trent, during the last session of the council, excited considerable attention; and two learned prelates, one a Spaniard and the other an Italian, engaged to answer it, but did not fulfil their promise. Meanwhile, to the consternation of such as were sincerely devoted to the papal pretensions, or found it their interest to maintain them, the work became known in the different countries of Europe, and was translated into the German, Italian, French, Spanish, Dutch, and even Greek language, while at home it was rendered into English by the Lady Bacon, wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the great seal of England.

Jewel was encouraged to give as wide circulation as possible to this work by an interesting letter received from Martyr, with whom he had spent the greater part of his time in exile, and for whom he continued to cherish sentiments of regard and veneration.

'By the favour of the Bishop London, most worthy prelate, and my very good Lord, there was brought me one of your Apologies for the Church of England, which neither I nor any of my neighbours had before seen. You hinted indeed in your last letter the probability of its appearance, rather than the certainty; but however it arrived not in this country till about the middle of July. And from hence your Lordship may conclude how much we suffer from the distance of places. It has not only afforded great satisfaction to me, who am accustomed to be pleased with your productions, but also to Bullinger, his sons, and sons-in-law: while it appears so judicious, admirable, and elegant to Walter and Wolphius, that they cannot cease from commending it, considering it as the most complete work which has been issued in our day. I offer you my fervent congratulation on this happy exercise of your abilities, this excellent edification of the church, and the honour you have done your country; I earnestly intreat you to proceed in the same path; for though we have a good cause, yet the defenders of it are few in comparison of its enemies; and they are at present so active, that they have recently made much impression on the ignorant multitude, by the goodness of their style, and the subtilty of their sophistry. I allude particularly to Staphylus and Hosius, and some other writers of that party, who are now the stout champions of the papal errors. But by this, your most elegant and learned apology, you have excited such a seasonable hope in the

minds of all good and learned men, that they generally promise themselves, the Reformation will not want an advocate while you are living. Glad I am to be favoured to see the day in which you became the father of so distinguished and eloquent an offspring. May the God of heaven grant in his goodness that you may be blessed in time with many more of a similar description.'

This warm testimony of esteem and approbation was forwarded from Zurich, under the date of the 24th August, 1562, and was doubtless appreciated by the Anglican prelate, who retained a pleasing remembrance of his intercourse with the distinguished foreigner, with the tidings of whose decease, which occurred within three months afterwards, he must have been sensibly affected. With respect to the work itself, the following character is given of it by his principal biographer. 'It is so drawn, that the first part of it is an illustration, and as it were a paraphrase, of the twelve articles of the Christian faith: the second is a short and solid confutation of whatever is objected against the church: if the order be considered, nothing can be better distributed; if the perspicuity, nothing can be fuller of light; if the style, nothing more terse; if the words, nothing more splendid; if the arguments, nothing stronger.'[1]

The Bishop was called to defend this work, excellent and impartial as it was, against the cavils and misrepresentations of Harding; and his defence was deemed so able and conclusive, that not only Queen Elizabeth, but King James, King Charles, and four successive archbishops, appointed it to be read and chained up in

[1] Humfrey, p. 187.

all parish churches throughout England and Wales. His next care was to defend his Sovereign against the Pope, who had published a bull of excommunication and deprivation against her Majesty. His learned examination and confutation of that document was published by Garbrand, one of his intimate friends, in conjunction with a short treatise of the Holy Scriptures; both which were delivered by the Bishop in Salisbury Cathedral, in the year 1570. Besides these, he composed several theological pieces; viz. 'A paraphrastical Interpretation of the Epistles and Gospels throughout the whole year:' 'Diverse Treatises of the Sacraments, and Exhortations to the Readers:' 'Expositions of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments:' 'An Exposition upon the Epistle to the Galatians, the first of St. Peter, and both the Epistles to the Thessalonians.' The latter publications appear to be the substance of a course of lectures, which he judged it more profitable to the people to deliver in a consecutive series on certain portions of Holy Writ, rather than to preach on detached and unconnected passages. The following extract from the "Exposition on the Epistles to the Thessalonians," will afford a specimen both of his matter and manner.

'God hath chosen you from the beginning. His election is sure for ever. The Lord knoweth who are his. You shall not be deceived with the power and subtilty of Antichrist. You shall not fall from grace. You shall not perish. This is the comfort which abideth with the faithful, when they behold the fall of the wicked; when they see them forsake the truth and delight in fables; when they see them return to their vomit, and wallow again in the mire. When we see these things

in others, we must say, Alas! they are examples for me, and lamentable examples. Let him that standeth take heed that he fall not. But God hath loved me, and hath chosen me to salvation. His mercy shall go before me, and his mercy shall follow in me. His mercy shall guide my feet, and stay me from falling. If I stay by myself, I stay by nothing; I must needs come to the ground. He hath loved me; he hath chosen me; he will keep me. Neither the example nor the company of others, nor the enticing of the devil, nor my own sensual imaginations, nor sword, nor fire, is able to separate me from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. This is the comfort of the faithful.—Whatsoever falleth upon others, though others fall and perish, although they forsake Christ and follow after Antichrist, yet God hath loved you, and given his Son for you. He hath chosen you, and prepared you unto salvation, and hath written your names in the book of life. But how may we know that God hath chosen us? how may we see this election? or how may we feel it? The Apostle saith, "Through sanctification, and the faith of truth." These are tokens of God's election.—The Holy Spirit comforteth us in all temptations; and beareth witness with our spirit that we be the children of God; that God hath chosen us; and doth love us; and hath prepared us to salvation; that we are the heirs of his glory; that God will keep us as the apple of his eye; that he will defend us; and we shall not perish.'

From this extract it appears that the tone of his instruction was such, as was afterwards, unhappily for the peace of the church, termed, for distinction's sake, Calvinistic; which term was perpetuated to answer the

purposes of malice or ignorance, as if those who held similar sentiments were secretly attached to Presbyterian government in the church, if not to democratic government in the state. It is not the least of the blessings for which Englishmen have to be thankful in our day, that a course of long and consistent endeavour to uphold the interests both of episcopacy and monarchy has thwarted the designs of ill-will, and blunted the shafts of prejudice. The discerning are well convinced that ministers and pastors who preach the same doctrine with the author of the unrivalled 'Apology' for the Anglican communion, would like him oppose principles contrary to the essential part of its hierarchical platform, and primitive discipline; and that while they recognize in the Elizabethan reformation the falling off from his nine fellows of one of the crowned horns of the Apocalyptic beast, they would deem it neither lawful nor expedient to assimilate that reformation in its externals to those Protestant bodies that rose up under less favourable circumstances on the continent. Such men can approve the motives and understand the feelings, with which the Bishop of Salisbury opposed the attempt made in convocation, in April, 1571, to establish the national religion after the model of Geneva. This attempt excited such alarm, that the Archbishop directed, That all such of the lower house of convocation, as had not formerly subscribed unto the articles of religion, agreed upon in the year 1562, should subscribe them then; or on their absolute refusal or delay be expelled the house. This ordinance occasioned a general and personal subscription of those articles. And it was also farther ordered, that the book of articles so approved should be put into print, by

e Epistle and Gospel should be in English also. his injunction took effect in all the London churches, n New-year's day, 1559, which fell on a Sunday, and gradually spread over the whole kingdom. The Queen did not think it expedient to proceed farther at present, except that she forbade the elevation of the host at the altar of the chapel-royal; which prohibition was sufficiently indicative of her private sentiments, and was obeyed, without positive orders, in all other churches. She set at liberty all who had been thrown into prison for conscience' sake; ordered the Liturgy to be carefully revised; and summoned a Parliament to meet at Westminster; in which every concession that could conscientiously be made to the Romanists was allowed.

Jewel, who was in the first instance entertained in the family of Mr. Nicholas Culverwell, and afterwards by Dr. William Thames, was appointed to attend a public disputation, ordered to be held at Westminster on the thirtieth of March, in the English tongue, in the presence of as many lords of the council, and of the members of both houses, as were desirous of information on the points of difference between the two great parties. The disputation was also to be conducted, for the sake of accuracy, by an interchange of writings; each document to be answered on the following day after presentation, till the whole were finished. This plan, so fairly designed for all parties, was at first consented to by the episcopal bench, but many of its members subsequently objected. The questions were three; concerning prayers in the vulgar tongue, the power of the church to change rites and ceremonies, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass

for the living and the dead. The assembly, however, broke up without coming to any final decision, chiefly through the equivocation of the Roman Catholics. As for the Parliament, it discontin[illegible] sittings on the eighth of May, but not before passing an act by which the Queen was empowered to send commissioners throughout all the dioceses, to rectify all disorders of an ecclesiastical nature which could not be redressed by the ordinary episcopal authority, without the loss of more time than could then be spared from the exigencies of the church. This measure was transacted by means of a book of articles drawn up for the purpose, and the inquiry was made upon oath by the commissioners, of whom Jewel was one of those selected for the visitation of the West. His feelings were much excited on once more seeing Devonshire, after the troubles which had taken place, and the change which had been wrought in public affairs. He addressed with much energy and affection the inhabitants of those districts which had been the scenes of his early joys and sorrows, and endeavoured to win over all opponents by gentle treatment and persuasive argumentation.

Returning to the capital, and giving the Queen a good and satisfactory account of their visitation, Jewel, though then only Bachelor of Divinity, and without incumbency, was chosen from among the rest of the commissioners to fill the See of Salisbury, which nomination he at first modestly declined, but at length accepted in obedience to the command of his Sovereign. The episcopal chair had been vacant nearly three years, and its revenues much impoverished; but as the spiritual edification of the diocese was the object nearest the heart of the new prelate, he engaged diligently in

the important task of reforming religious abuses, correcting the remainders of superstition, and providing faithful and well-instructed pastors.

'On the Sunday after Easter, 1560, he preached at Paul's cross a memorable Sermon from 1 Cor. xi. 23. "For I have received of the Lord, that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread," &c. After making a clear statement of the Protestant doctrine with respect to the Lord's supper, as drawn from Scripture, and confirmed by the sentiments of the purest fathers, he made this solemn declaration. 'If any learned man of all our adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive, are able to show any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic Doctor or Father, or out of any old General Council, or out of the Holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of the primitive Church, whereby it may be clearly and plainly proved, That there were any private mass in the world at that time for the space of six hundred years after Christ; or that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was ever administered to the people under one kind; or that the people then had their Common Prayers in a strange tongue that they understand not; or that the Bishop of Rome was then called an Universal Bishop, or the Head of the Universal Church; or that the people were taught to believe that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporeally, carnally, or naturally in the sacrament; or that his body is, or may be, in above a thousand places at one time; or that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head; or that the people did then fall down and worship it with divine honour; or that then the Sacrament was hanged up under a canopy; or that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration,

there remained only the accidents or shows, without the substance of bread and wine; or that the priest then divided the Sacrament in three parts, and after received all alone himself; or that whosoever had then said that the Sacrament is a figure, pledge, token, or remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been judged for an heretic; or that it was then lawful to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, or five masses said in one church in one day; or that images were then set up in churches, that the people might worship them; or that the lay-people were then forbidden to read the word of God in their own language—if any man alive can prove any one of these articles, by any one clear or plain clause or sentence of Scripture, ancient Fathers, or any one General Council, or any example of the Primitive Church, I here promise that I will give over my opinion and subscribe to him. Yea, I further promise, that if any of all our adversaries be able clearly and plainly to prove in manner aforesaid, that it was then lawful for a priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely, and in silence to himself; or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father; or to receive the Sacrament for another, as they now do; or apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by means of the mass, or that then it was thought a sound doctrine to teach the people that the mass *ex opere operato* is able to remove our sins; or that any Christian man called the Sacrament his Lord and God; or that the people were then taught to believe that the body of Christ remaineth in the Sacrament so long as that bread remaineth without corruption; or that a mouse, worm, or other creature may eat the body of Christ; or that Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion—as I said before, so now I say

again, if any of them can clearly prove any of these things in the manner aforesaid, I promise to yield and subscribe unto him. Indeed, they have long boasted of antiquity, &c.; but when they are put to their proofs, they can produce nothing. I speak not this out of arrogancy, (thou Lord knowest it, that knowest all things,) but because it is in the cause of God, and for asserting his truth, I should do God great injury, if I should conceal it.'

A challenge so decided, and a declaration so frank, was calculated to excite public attention, and to provoke attempts at an answer, which were made by several English Papists, both at home and abroad. But the most remarkable controversy to which it gave rise was that between the right reverend preacher himself, and Dr. John Harding, a divine of the college of Louvain in the Netherlands. This clergyman had been prebendary of Salisbury, and had taken offence at the measures pursued by the new Bishop in purifying the state of the cathedral, as well as the spirituality of character and doctrine which he sought to introduce amongst his clergy. An interest was given to the dispute by a similarity of circumstances in their respective histories. They had both been born in the same county, bred up in the same school, and studied in the same university. They had avowed protestant sentiments in the reign of Edward, and had relapsed into popery under Mary, but with this difference, that Jewel's apostacy was the effect of sudden fear, but Harding's of worldly policy; the former, soon evincing sincere repentance, the latter 'offending through malicious wickedness,' and persevering in a course which might recommend him to the notice of influential members of the antagonist persuasion.

On the death of the late Queen, Pope Paul the fourth saw with bitter chagrin the probability of losing that hold which he flattered himself the Romish see had once more taken of Britain. When Elizabeth notified her accession to him by the Scottish resident at Rome, he replied that England was a fief of the Apostolic see; that she could not succeed, being illegitimate; and that he could not contradict the declarations made on that subject by his predecessors Clement VII. and Paul III; that her assumption of the crown without his consent was an arrogance which justly precluded any show of favour on his part; but that yet, if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer the case wholly to him, he would act the part of an indulgent father, and exercise towards her all the consideration that was consistent with the dignity of the papal chair. Elizabeth paid little regard to this ungracious reception of her notification by the Pontiff, who was soon after succeeded by Pius the fourth, a man of more subtle policy, who endeavoured to gain her over by kind professions and artful representations; but as the authority of the Pope had been denied by act of parliament, her Majesty would not admit the existence of any ground for negociation, and prudently refused his agent an entrance into the kingdom.[1] Meanwhile he resolved to renew the council of Trent, and despatched another ecclesiastic called Martiningo, to invite her and her Bishops to attend, who on his arrival at Brussels, requested leave to cross over to England; but she displayed a firmness that

[1] The Pope offered to confirm the English Liturgy by his authority, and grant the English the use of the Sacrament under both kinds, provided the Queen would unite herself to the Church of Rome, and acknowledge the primacy of the Roman See.—Camden's Annals. Fuller's Church History, p. 68, 69.

the appointment of the right reverend Doctor John Jewel.

To turn from his public to his private character, he was noted for his charitable disposition, enlarged bounty, and prudence in reconciling litigants. Of an amiable temper, he was easily accessible; grave in his deportment, but indulging in occasional pleasantry; at his dinner table, after a chapter had been read from Scripture, he took great delight in witnessing scholastic combats maintained by some young men whom he supported, acting as moderator, and rewarding the conquerors. He allowed pensions to others at the universities, and as the celebrated Hooker was one of these, to the fostering care of the writer of the 'Apology,' we owe the talent and learning which produced the 'Ecclesiastical Polity.' Hooker was of the same county, and known to him as a lad, whose parents, being poor, had destined him for some trade, but whom in the kindness of his heart he patronized, laying the foundation of a friendship sincere and ardent, though between persons of such different age and rank. It was in the last year of the Bishop's life, that Hooker, with a companion who was travelling with him on foot from Oxford to Devonshire, whither he was going to pass the vacation with his relations, visited him at his palace; and after entertaining him at his board, Jewel dismissed him with good advice and his pastoral blessing, but forgot to supply him with money; on which he sent a servant to call him back, and told him 'I sent for you Richard, to lend you a horse that hath carried me many a mile, and, I thank God, with much ease.' He then putinto his hand a stout walking-staff, with which he had travelled

in Germany, and added, 'Richard, I do not *give* thee my pony, I only *lend* him; so be sure you be honest, and bring him back again, as you return to Oxford; and I do now give thee ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here are ten more for your mother; tell her I send her a bishop's blessing along with it, and that I beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And mind, if you bring back my pony, I will give you ten more to carry you on foot to college; and so God bless you, good Richard.' It may here be added, that the amiable prelate recommended him to Dr. Sandys, then Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of York, who patronized him in future life; and that Hooker, in the warmth of his gratitude, mentioning Jewel in his writings, calls him, 'The worthiest divine Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years.

It was one of his domestic habits to summon his servants at nine in the evening, examining how they had passed the day, and commending or reproving as the occasion demanded. After prayer he retired to his study, where he often sat till midnight, or if retiring to his chamber, would direct some portion of an edifying author to be read to him, on which he might meditate, till sleep closed his eye-lids.

He was remarkable for his moderation in dealing with offenders. 'Let your chancellor,' he writes to Dr. Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, 'be the harder, but you the easier; let him wound, but do you heal; let him lance, but do you plaister; wise clemency will do more good than rigid severity; one may move more with an engine, than six with the force of their hands.' He put his own precept in practice, frequently sitting with his chancellor, hearing, considering, and some-

times determining causes of matrimony, adultery, testaments, &c. But though as a justice of peace, he often sat also in courts of quarter-sessions, yet there he rarely interfered, except his judgment were desired concerning some scruple connected with religion. The library of Salisbury Cathedral is a monument of his liberality, as he raised its fabric at his own expence; while he was careful of the revenues of his diocese, which had suffered in common with others, from the abuse of some servants of the crown, who excused themselves for making free with them, from the acknowledged parsimony of the Queen in rewarding their services. A courtier, who was a lay-man, having obtained a prebendal stall, and adding to this abuse the intention of letting it to another lay-man on advantageous terms for himself, acquainted the Bishop with the agreement, and the opinions of lawyers upon it. 'What your lawyers may answer,' replied the diocesan, 'I know not; but for my part, to my power, I will take care that the church shall sustain no loss whilst I live.' His determination on this subject, as on all other, was the result of conscientious reflection, as appears from his discourse before her Majesty and the Court, on Psalm lxix. 9. *The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up*, in which are these observations; 'In other countries the receiving of the Gospel hath always been the cause that learning was more set by; and learning hath ever been the furtherance of the Gospel. In England I know not how it otherwise cometh to pass, for since the Gospel hath been received, the maintenance for learning has been decayed; and the lack of learning will be the decay of the gospel. Those that should be fosters of learning, and increase the livings, have no

zeal. What, said I, *increase?* Nay, the livings and provisions which were heretofore given to this use, are taken away. Whereas all other labourers and artificers have their hire increased double as much as it was wont to be; only the poor man that laboureth and sweateth in the vineyard of the Lord of hosts, hath his hire abridged and abated. You enriched them that mocked, and blinded, and devoured you; spoil not them now that feed, and instruct, and comfort you.'

His continued exertions in superintending the affairs of his diocese, travelling over it, preaching in its churches, reading and writing controversial or doctrinal works, seem to have prematurely worn out his attenuated frame, and hastened his dissolution, which occurred before he had counted fifty years. He felt his end approaching long before his last sickness, and mentioned his conviction to several friends, by whose entreaties he could not be persuaded to abate his wonted labours. Feeling indeed that he must shortly lay aside his earthly tabernacle, he rather increased in diligence, engaging in a stricter visitation, correcting the errors of clergy and laity, enjoining the former to useful studies, and the latter to the perusal of religious tracts, out of which he recommended them to commit certain passages to memory. On his way to preach at Lacock, in the vicinity of Sarum, a gentleman met him, who was much affected at his emaciated appearance, and advised him to return home, observing, that 'it was much better the people should want one sermon, than to be altogether deprived of such a preacher.' But he answered, that 'it became a Bishop to die in a pulpit.' He proceeded therefore, and preached from Galatians v. 16. "*Walk in the Spirit.*" He doubtless

reflected on the example of his great Master, who reproved those who would have dissuaded him from fulfilling his Father's work, and remembered that it was written, "Happy is that servant, whom his Lord when he cometh, shall find so doing!" This proved, however, his last opportunity of addressing that flock, over whom the Lord had made him overseer. It was with great difficulty he finished the discourse, and was forced afterwards to take to his bed.

In the beginning of his sickness he made his will, and gave most of his estate to his servants, to scholars, and to the poor of Sarum. The Saturday following, he called his household about him, and expounded the Lord's prayer, when he said, it has always been my desire that I might glorify God, and honour his name, by sacrificing my life unto death for the defence of his truth. But seeing God hath not granted my desire, yet I rejoice, that my body is exhausted and worn away in the labours of my holy calling. And now that my hour is at hand, I earnestly desire you to pray for me, and to help me with the ardency of your affections, when you perceive me, through the infirmity of the flesh, to languish in my prayers: hitherto I have taught you; but now the time is come in which I may, and desire to be taught and strengthened by every one of you.' He then desired them to sing the seventy-first psalm, in which he joined as well as he could, applying it to his own case, at intervals, and devoutly uttering, at its conclusion, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace! Break off all delays! Lord, receive my spirit!" One of the by-standers prayed with tears, that if the Lord pleased, he would restore him to his former health; but he observed immediately, 'I have

not so lived that I am ashamed to live longer; neither do I fear to die, because we have a merciful Lord. A crown of righteousness is laid up for me; Christ is my righteousness. Father, let my will be done. *Thy* will, I say, and not *mine*, which is imperfect and depraved. This day quickly let me see the Lord Jesus!' After a few more inward prayers, he breathed his last.

This event, which caused general sorrow, took place at Monktonfarleigh, on the twenty-second of September, 1571, after he had been Bishop about twelve years. His remains were deposited in the middle of the choir of his cathedral, a divine named Giles Lawrence preaching the funeral sermon to a crowded and weeping auditory, whose children and grand-children learnt to repeat his name with that reverence which justly attaches to the memorial of so eminent a pastor of the church of God.

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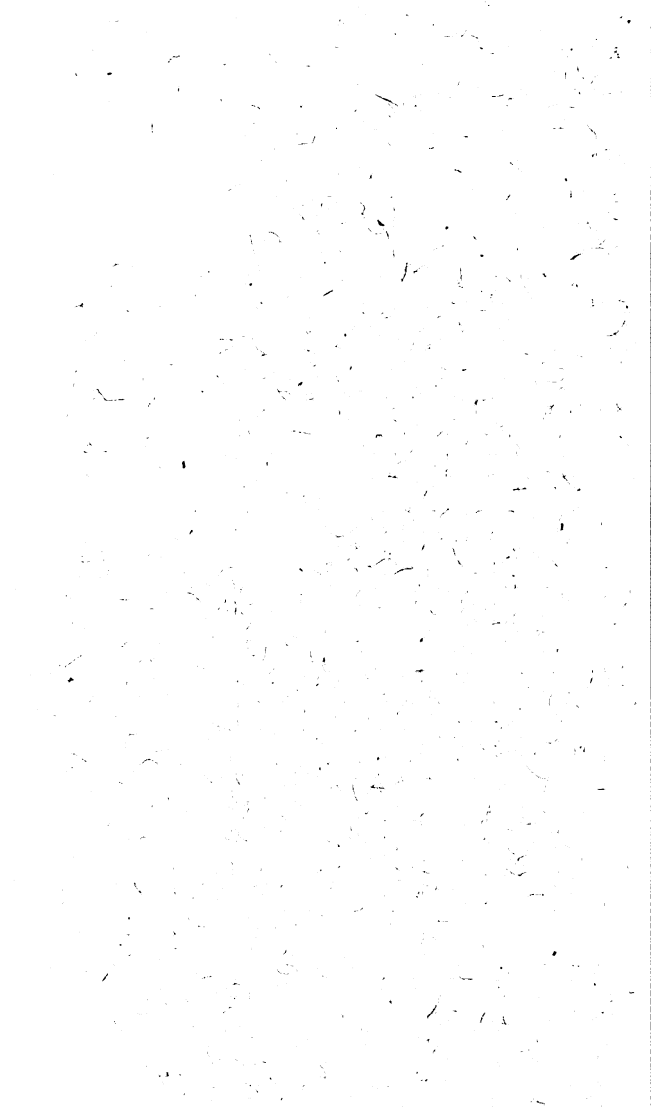
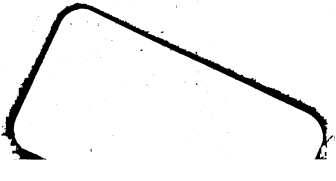
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